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THE INFANTILE GENITAL ORGANIZATION OF THE LIBIDO:

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE THEORY OF SEXUALITY

BY

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It is indicative of the difficulties which beset the work of psycho-analytic research that it is possible, in spite of unremitting observation extending over periods of years, to overlook quite broad general features and typical situations, until at last they confront one in a completely unmistakable guise. The remarks that follow are intended to retrieve a lapse of this sort in the field of infantile sexuality.

Readers of my *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie* (1905) will be aware that I have never undertaken any thorough alteration of this work for later editions, but have preserved the original arrangement and have fulfilled the claims of later advances in our knowledge by supplementing and correcting the text. Thus it may well be that the old and the new do not admit of fusion without indications of contradiction. In the beginning, for instance, the emphasis fell upon pointing out the fundamental difference between the sexual life of children and of adults; later on the pregenital organizations of the libido swung into the foreground, together with the remarkable and significant fact of the double thrust of sexual development, twice making a start at separate periods. Finally the curiosity of the child engaged our interest; and from this proceeded the recognition of the far-reaching similarity between the last stages of infantile sexuality (about the fifth year) and the final form to which it develops in the adult. In the last edition of the *Sexualtheorie* (1922) I left things at this point.

I stated there (on p. 63) that ' often, or perhaps regularly, complete

object-choice is established in early childhood, of the kind that we have inferred to be characteristic of the pubertal phase of development, namely, such as occurs when all the sexual trends become directed towards one single person and in that person seek to reach their aims. This constitutes the most complete approximation possible in childhood to the definitive form taken by sexual life after puberty. The sole difference from the latter is that the coalescence of the component-impulses and their concentration under the primacy of the genital organs is not effected in childhood or only very imperfectly. The institution of this primacy is, therefore, the last phase which the sexual organization undergoes.'

I am to-day no longer satisfied with the statement that the primacy of the genitals is not effected in the early period of childhood, or only very imperfectly. The approximation of childhood-sexuality to that of the adult goes much farther and is not limited solely to the establishment of an object-attachment. Even if perfect concentration of the component-impulses under the primacy of the genitals is not attained, at any rate at the height of the development of childhood-sexuality the functioning of the genitals and the interest in them reaches predominant significance, which comes little short of that reached in maturity. The *difference* between these two—the ' infantile genital organization ' and the final genital organization of the adult—constitutes also the main characteristic of the infantile form, namely, that for both sexes in childhood only one kind of genital organ comes into account—the male. The primacy reached is not therefore a primacy of the *genital,* but of the *phallus.*

Unfortunately we can describe this state of things only as it concerns the male child ; the corresponding processes in the little girl are not sufficiently known to us. The little boy undoubtedly perceives the distinction between men and women, but to begin with he has no occasion to connect it with any difference in the genitals. It is natural for him to assume that all living beings, persons and animals, possess a genital organ like his own ; indeed we know that he investigates inanimate objects with a view to discovering something like his member in them.[1] This part of the body, so easily

[1] It is remarkable, by the way, what a small degree of interest the other part of the male genitals, the little sac with its contents, arouses in the child. From all one hears in analyses one could not guess that the male genitals consist of anything more than the penis.

excitable and changeable, and so rich in sensation, occupies the boy's interest to a high degree and never ceases to provide new problems for his epistemological impulse. He wants to see the same thing in other people, so as to compare it with his own; he behaves as if he had a dim idea that this member might be and should be larger. The driving force which this male portion of his body will generate later at puberty expresses itself in childhood essentially as an impulsion to inquire into things—as sexual curiosity. Many of those deeds of exhibitionism and aggression which children commit, and which in later years would be judged without hesitation to be manifestations of sensual passion, prove on analysis to be experiments undertaken in the search for sexual knowledge.

In the course of these investigations the child makes the discovery that the penis is not one of the possessions common to all creatures who are like himself. The accidental sight of the genitalia of a little sister or a little playmate is the occasion of this. In unusually intelligent children the sight of girls urinating arouses the suspicion that something is different here even earlier; for they will have noticed the different position adopted and the different sound heard and have taken steps to repeat their observations in such a way as to find out the truth. We know how they react to their first perception of the absence of the penis. They deny its absence, and believe they do see a penis all the same; the discrepancy between what they see and what they imagine is glossed over by the idea that the penis is still small and will grow; gradually they come to the conclusion, so fraught with emotion, that at least it had been there and had at some time been taken away. The absence of the penis is thought to be the result of a castration, and then the child is faced with the task of dealing with the thought of a castration in relation to himself. Subsequent developments are too well known for it to be necessary to recapitulate them here. It seems to me, however, that the significance of the castration complex can only be rightly appreciated when its origin in the phase of *primacy of the phallus* is also taken into account.[2]

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[2] It has quite correctly been pointed out that the child acquires the idea of a narcissistic wound or deprivation of a part of its body by the experience of the loss of the nipple after suckling and of the daily production of its fæces, even already by its separation from the womb of the mother at birth. Nevertheless, the castration complex should be a term

We know, too, to what a degree depreciation of women, loathing of women, and a disposition to homosexuality are derived from a final conviction of women's lack of a penis. Ferenczi has recently with complete justification traced back the mythological symbol of loathing—the head of Medusa—to the impression made by the female genitals devoid of a penis.[3]

It should not be presumed, however, that the child instantly and readily makes a generalization of its perception that many women possess no penis; in the way of this there lies the assumption that the absence of the penis is due to a castration performed as a punishment. On the contrary, the child imagines that only unworthy female persons have thus sacrificed their genital organ, such persons as have probably been guilty of the same forbidden impulses as he himself. Women who are regarded with respect, such as the mother, retain the penis long after this date. Not yet is being a woman the same thing to the child as having no penis.[4] Not till later, when the child takes up the problems of the origin and birth of children, and divines that only women can bear children, does the mother too become deprived of a penis; and along with this quite complicated theories are constructed, so as to account for the exchange of a penis in return for a child. At the same time the real female genitals never seem to be discovered. As we know, the baby is supposed to live in the mother's body (bowels) and to be born through the bowel passage. These last theories take us up to the end of the period of infantile sexuality or beyond.

It is as well, further, to bear in mind the transformations which the familiar polarity of the sexes goes through in the course of the

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reserved for the occasion when the idea of such deprivations comes to be associated with the loss of the male organ.

[3] *International Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, 1923, Heft 1. I will merely add that in the myth it is the genital of the mother that is represented. Athene, who carries the head of Medusa on her armour, becomes by virtue of it the unapproachable, the woman at sight of whom all thought of sexual desire is stifled.

[4] From the analysis of a young woman I learnt that, having no father and several aunts, until quite late in the latency-period she clung to a belief that her mother and some of her aunts possessed a penis. One of the aunts, however, was weak-minded, and she was regarded by the child as castrated like herself.

sexual development of childhood. A first contrast is introduced with object-choice, which of course presupposes a subject and an object. At the level of the pregenital sadistic-anal organization nothing is yet heard of any maleness and femaleness; the dominant antithesis is that between active and passive.[5] In the following stage of the infantile genital organization *maleness* has come to life, but no femaleness. The antithesis runs: a male genital organ or a castrated condition. Not until completion of development at the time of puberty does the polarity of sexuality coincide with *male* and *female*. In maleness is concentrated subject, activity, and the possession of a penis; femaleness carries on the object, and passivity. The vagina becomes valued henceforth as an asylum for the penis; it comes into an inheritance from the mother's womb.

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[5] Cf. *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie.* Fünfte Auflage, S.62.

COMPENSATION AS A MEANS OF DISCOUNTING THE MOTIVE OF REPRESSION [1]

BY

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I

Freud's discovery that forgetting ideas is invariably motivated by some painful affect accompanying them suggests the correlated problem: how is it that repressed ideas re-enter consciousness at the end of a series of free associations? Is it possible that during the process of association a repressed idea loses its painful tone, or is it that the painful affect loses its quality as a motive for repression? Looked at from this angle, the problem is seen to be a general psychobiological one; and the answer in accordance with the teaching of Freud would run as follows: the subject accepts a lesser pain—namely, that which is involved in reproducing the repressed idea—in order to avoid the greater pain which would follow from frustration of the mental activity already undertaken. Where psychic parapraxes (blunders) are concerned, occurring in normal persons whose thinking processes are consciously directed to an end, we may certainly assume that the impulsion towards uninterrupted mental functioning is sufficiently strong to overcome the resistance to recollecting the repressed ideas that should make their appearance in the train of thought. The parallel with neurosis is self-evident. There it is the burden of the illness which acts as an incentive to recovery and therefore to the relaxation of the repression. In every case we see that the avoidance of pain which is the aim of repression is relative: the overcoming of the resistance must be regarded as due to a relative discounting of the impulse to repression in consequence of a threat of greater pain resulting from frustration of a mental activity con-

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[1] Published in the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. I. 1913.

sciously directed towards an end. The pleasure which recompenses the overcoming of the resistance consists in the increase of mental power that accrues from having at one's disposal some idea indispensable to the particular train of thought. The 'pain' which the resistance was designed to banish becomes a means of attaining pleasure and that which produces pleasure is in itself of the nature of pleasure, even though it may be accompanied by distress: there is even such a thing as painful pleasure.[2]

From a purely psychological point of view the problem lies in the fact that the reproduction of the repressed idea is preceded by a *definite number* of associations terminating when that idea emerges; so that we have before us a certain definite amount of material to be investigated, in which we may expect that both mechanisms—that of repression and that of the removal of the repression—will be represented and exposed. In other words: the question is why the forgotten idea makes its appearance just at that particular point rather than at another, i.e. at the end of a longer or shorter chain of associations. Since we have referred the forgetting of the idea to the influence of the affect it arouses, we must also bring its emergence into consciousness into relation with this particular affect.

There must be some *motive* for the admission of the affect into consciousness at that particular point in the series of associations, and, moreover, in a specifically psychic activity the motive must be a psychological one. During the process of association something quite definite must have happened to the affect to enable it to re-enter consciousness at a given point in the series of associations. In other words: we have to look for the psychological representative of that relative discounting of the motive for repression which has taken place. Obviously, biological assumptions of the existence of a mechanism designed to preserve a state of euphoria will not serve here. At this point the essential difference becomes clear between the two modes of thought in psychology—the biologizing and the psycho-analytic. The choice of psychic reactions which are admitted to consciousness—a choice which lies with the endopsychic censorship—does not in the first instance depend upon the value of these reactions for social intercourse or for orientation in regard to the

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[2] The masochistic principle which is visible in this mechanism requires to be discussed separately as part of the psychology of masochism.

outside world. The work of censorship is conducted on a principle for which the social capacities of the individual are only of a conditional value. Otherwise it would be inexplicable that ideas which are generally at our disposal automatically may suddenly be reft away from a train of thought directed towards a certain end; or that, often in spite of close concentration, the train of thought proposed is invaded by ideas which show that the notion that the individual is tending to the achievement of a state of euphoria is purely illusory. On the contrary, the principle which determines the capacity or incapacity of ideas to enter consciousness is the criterion of pleasure or pain, and this is altogether conditioned by the laws of the individual's psychic development, a correlative in the single individual of the evolution of human instincts. And so it may happen that the endopsychic censorship is guided in its choice of ideas by a principle which has no currency in the conscious, socially-determined economy of the mind.

II

These reflections followed on an observation made: namely, that in a series of associations there occurs in very many cases, immediately before the reproduction of a forgotten idea, an association which is accompanied by a pleasurable affect. This pleasurable idea is of such a kind as to restore in anticipation, so to speak, the self-esteem of the subject which must suffer a blow from the subsequent reproduction of the repressed idea. The subject *compensates* himself, so to speak, before he reveals the fact which lowers his self-esteem. It is as if he tried to brace himself against the distress he anticipates by emphasizing encouraging factors, and by a cheering contemplation of himself he robs of its sting the pain he is about to experience. This compensation has the effect of discounting the motive for repression and weakening the resistance against the painful reproduction of the idea, so that he finally succumbs to the tendency to continue the train of thought without interruption. Let me give some examples to illustrate my points.

A

I was discussing with H. the question of sexual life in present-day civilization. He began to tell me about the time when he first learnt the existence of a system of paid prostitution. 'When I was

sixteen years old,' he said, 'a schoolfellow told me that there were women of that sort in . . . I can't remember the name of the street my schoolfellow mentioned.' Upon my encouraging him to arrive at the forgotten idea by means of free association, he produced the following series of associations:

1. 'It was the name of a battle.' Three names then occurred to him in the following order, none of them being the name he was trying to recall:

2. 'Lissa, Custozza, Canossa.'

3. 'The name of the victor at Lissa was Tegetthoff; there is a monument to him in one of the municipal divisions of Vienna. In the same district there is also a street called the Custozzagasse.'

4. 'At Lissa and Custozza the Italians were defeated by the Austrians. It occurs to me that the professor who taught us history in the lower forms of the *Gymnasium* always represented the Italians as the embittered enemies of Austria.'

5. 'Not long ago I remarked to a woman fellow-student, who thought I was an anti-feminist, that in the matter of the emancipation of women I had long since gone to Canossa.'

6. 'The phrase "to go to Canossa" means to ask pardon, to humble oneself. The historical incident at Canossa then occurs to me: the Pope standing on the balcony with the Duchess Mathilde and King Henry IV of Bourbon [3] down below barefoot in the snow.'

7. 'Tannhäuser had to go barefooted on a pilgrimage to Rome.'

8. 'The Venusberg in the opera *Tannhäuser*.'

9. 'The Ninth Symphony.'

10. '"*Seid umschlungen Millionen.*" [Be folded in this embrace, ye millions.] The quotation is from Schiller—the phrase also has a voluptuous sound.'

11. 'Schiller's line "*Ein Schlachten war's, nicht eine Schlacht zu nennen.*" [It was no battle but a butchery.]'

12. 'I wrote this sentence to a fellow-student instead of giving her news of my examination. As a matter of fact I was very nearly ploughed in that examination.'

At this point H.'s expression of concentration suddenly changed

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[3] As a matter of fact it was Henry IV, the Salian, not of Bourbon, who went to Canossa. This mistake in history was explained in the course of analysis, but it need not be discussed here, as it is irrelevant to the subject.

(I must explain that he had just stood for an examination in medicine) and the tension of his mental condition came to an end with the reproduction of the forgotten idea : the street was called Novaragasse ; it is in the district I mentioned.

The forgotten name for which he had hunted had thus come to light. The first thing was to test its affective tone for H.

Questioned as to this he gave the following information :

' When my schoolfellow told me that there were prostitutes in the Novaragasse, I paid a visit to that street. An old prostitute in dirty clothing accosted me, calling me " *Bubi* " [German : " *Bube* ", a boy]. I did not know that even grown-up men were addressed thus and so took the word to be a reflection on my youthful appearance. My manly pride was deeply wounded, the more so because I could not but admit the justice of the criticism. This feeling, combined with the shyness natural to my years and the consciousness of treading a forbidden path, turned my first sally on the battlefield of love into a complete rout. The effect was enhanced by the disgust with which the woman inspired me. I did not answer her, but made off hastily. It was a very disagreeable experience. But I appeared to myself in a very interesting light afterwards, though I was not quite clear about what had happened.'

When the forgotten idea was reproduced it turned out to be accompanied by a painful affect. The connection between the various associations was shown on analysis to be the following :

The name of an Italian town where a battle took place.

The names of three Italian towns, two of which have given their names to battles (Lissa, Custozza).

The victor at Lissa was called Tegetthoff.

The Tegetthoff monument in a certain district of Vienna.

The Custozzagasse in the same district.

Lissa and Custozza—Austrian victories over the Italians.

Enmity of the Italians towards the Austrians. This fact learnt at school.

Conversation with a woman fellow-student (school).

The subject of the emancipation of women.

Use of the phrase ' to go to Canossa '.

At Canossa a king (a leader of armies, a soldier) abased himself before the Pope (ecclesiastical over-lord) and before a (royal, emancipated) woman (who was a duchess and so fully emancipated that she carried on a love relation with the Pope).

The king's name was Henry IV of Bourbon.

The king stood barefooted before the Pope of Rome.

Tannhäuser went barefoot to the Pope of Rome.

Tannhäuser visited the Venusberg. In the Venusberg there was sensual indulgence and this was forbidden—forbidden by the Pope. He who transgresses the prohibition—command—of the Pope—over-lord—is punished—humiliated—must ask forgiveness. Both Henry IV and Tannhäuser rebelled against the command and therefore had to abase themselves barefoot before the Pope.

The story of Tannhäuser was set to music—the first act is called the Venusberg—the music is voluptuous.

The Ninth Symphony is voluptuous music.

The words of it are: 'Be folded in this embrace, ye millions.' To embrace means to take into one's arms, i.e. in a voluptuous, erotic sense.

The words are by Schiller, so too the line 'It was no battle but a butchery.' This line comes from the *Jungfrau von Orleans*. The Jungfrau was a war-like woman who killed men—butchered them.

The line is of a voluptuous nature. To be butchered by a woman would afford a voluptuous gratification. (See below on the subject of masochism.)

This verse also states that the Maid butchered her foes. Men —Englishmen, soldiers—were defeated by a woman—an emancipated war-like woman.

I am a soldier, in my first year of service. I am a man who is always overthrown by women. This is because I have no aggressive tendencies, for I am a masochist and with every woman I assume the passive rôle. Women do not like this attitude; they despise it. I require a woman who does not despise it but seeks for it. In my circle a woman of this sort would most probably be an emancipated woman, possibly a student or a colleague.

It is on account of my lack of courage where women are concerned that I cannot win any woman's love. Other men all succeed in their wooing; I alone fail. This depresses me and takes away all my self-confidence. The lack of self-confidence manifests itself in other departments of my life as well. I am afraid of professors and examinations. At the last examination I was so much distracted by nervousness that I very nearly failed. Nevertheless I did pass. I was very glad about this. If a man has succeeded in the field of intellect he may succeed in pleasing an emancipated woman; so

that possibly success of this sort might lead to my winning a wife.

I quoted Schiller's line to a fellow-student, instead of telling her how the examination went. As a matter of fact I did immediately use the first success which came my way to make myself seem desirable to a woman. The fact of passing the examination encouraged me in my relation towards women.

I hope that in future I shall not be so much inhibited by my masochistic tendencies as I was that time when I was still a young boy in the Novaragasse, treading forbidden paths, submissive to women, lacking self-confidence and the instinct of aggression.[4]

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[4] In this example it is interesting to note that the forgotten idea 'Novaragasse' is related, as regards its content, to every link in the chain of association. Novara is the name of an Italian town, where a battle took place, in which the Italians were defeated by the Austrians. The street is in a certain district of Vienna, close to the monument of the victor of Lissa and to the Custozzagasse. Austria's enmity towards Italy is a fact recollected from schooldays and the recollection is affectively toned. (The significance of the idea 'school' as a line of association is further determined by the associations: schoolfellow, a woman colleague, emancipation of women and examination.) H. had had a love adventure in the Novaragasse, like Tannhäuser in the Venusberg, by forbidden paths. He suffered a defeat there, as the Italians did at the hands of the Austrians and the English at those of the Maid of Orleans, a humiliation like that of Tannhäuser in Rome and Henry IV at Canossa. He longed for sensual pleasures as described in the opera *Tannhäuser* and indicated by the words of the Ninth Symphony (and their sound). Love, defeat, humiliation and lack of courage come from H.'s masochistic tendencies and from the fact that to be slain by dominating women like the Duchess Mathilde and the Maid of Orleans would be quite in accordance with his phantasies. These phantasies were at their height at the time of the incident of the Novaragasse, and H. blames them for his lack of success in love-affairs. A schoolfellow told him about the Novaragasse, where prostitutes (i.e. women emancipated from the moral law) make a trade of sensual pleasures. The emancipated type of woman is the last possible refuge for the masochist. Again, he told a woman fellow-student, i.e. an emancipated woman, of his submission to the idea of the emancipation of women and also about his success in his examination which he hoped would act as a passport to her favour, as he possessed no other means of forwarding his suit. His weakness in the sphere of love found compensation in his self-esteem in the sphere of intellect, just as on the occasion of his adventure in the Novara-

Association 12 brings the compensation, the consolation for confessing the need for consolation. Its content is a restoration of the self-esteem which had suffered a blow in the incident in the Novaragasse. It acts as an antidote to the motive for repression, and permits restitution of the memory by setting the greater strength of the present and better hope for the future against the weak and feeble past. The significance of the compensating association comes out even more clearly in the following supplementary remark: 'That incident certainly did not affect my future at all decisively. I really was only a boy at the time, the woman couldn't take me seriously. Besides, I did not like her either.'

B

Frau M. had put ten kronen into her purse one evening. The next morning the bank-note had vanished. At first she thought she had mislaid the money and instituted a search in every possible place, but without success. She then thought the servant might have taken it; but the rest of the family would not hear of such a suspicion and suggested that Frau M. might have spent the money and forgotten about it. Frau M. denied this possibility most emphatically. She described exactly when and how she had got the money, how afterwards she had only gone from the kitchen into the bedroom, and who had been in the room before she went to sleep —in short, it was out of the question that the money could have disappeared in any other way than by being stolen. She spent the day in a state of ill-humour and annoyance, constantly tormented by the thought that even in one's own house one has no security against thieves. In this mood she left the house towards evening to make some purchases. She returned home beaming with joy, though at the same time ashamed. Everything, she said, was explained; she knew all about it, she had done the maid an injustice. What had happened was this: she had met a Galician Rabbi whom she disliked so much on account of his unpleasant behaviour and his meanness that she was glad when he left her. When at last he had taken his leave she could not help saying to her companion: 'I

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gasse when he tried to make capital for his self-regarding feelings out of an incident not calculated to enhance them and in his own eyes played the part of hero in an interesting affair.

really am glad to get rid of that creature.' The moment she gave vent to her ill-humour, a sudden disconnected thought occurred to her: she had given the ten-kronen-note the evening before to a Turkish teacher as his fee for the religious instruction he had given to her children.

The following facts came to light in analysis. Frau M.'s children had formerly received religious instruction from the religious instructor belonging to the official Jewish community. Frau M., however, was dissatisfied with his method of teaching. She bluntly called it 'Galician', a word which she used to imply a whole complex of disagreeable qualities in her husband's relatives which she found intolerable. The only way to withdraw the children from this religious instruction was to transfer to the Turkish congregation.[5] There were, however, two reasons for hesitation. In the first place her husband must know nothing about it and in the second place she would have to pay the Turkish instructor a separate fee, whilst the official religious instructor was included in the school fees. The secrecy as well as the extra expenditure created very unpleasant situations for Frau M. As it was, she knew that her husband's relatives had often suspected her of disingenuousness and of extravagant tendencies. And now it seemed that their criticisms would be justified! There was nothing for it, however; in Frau M.'s opinion the worst thing of all was this religious instructor. And so she did what she felt herself compelled to do; she transferred the children without any authorization to the Turkish congregation and used the housekeeping money to pay for the religious instruction. But the situation she then found herself in was most uncomfortable and caused her self-reproach, for it could not be justified 'perfectly simply'. Here we have the motive for her forgetting that she had paid the Turkish teacher his fees. But when the following day Frau M. met another Galician Rabbi who was a most glaring illustration of the qualities she hated, which had caused her to leave the former teacher, her conflict came to an end: she had been right, perfectly right; anything was allowable in order to free oneself from such creatures. Her husband's relatives might say what they liked about her lack of straightforwardness and her extravagance. And no sooner did this

[5] The Turkish congregation is composed of Jews who have emigrated from Turkey and Bosnia.

compensating thought occur to her, constituting as it did a justification and a satisfaction, than the forgotten idea came back.

In some analyses the compensating thought does not form part of the chain of associations. In certain of these cases one can discover that it did come into consciousness, nevertheless, but was suppressed. It is then produced subsequently, when the patient is questioned or spontaneously in the form of an excuse. Nor is compensation lacking, moreover, in the analysis of the neuroses. Here it often appears just as plainly and at the same point as in the analyses of psychic parapraxes in normal persons. Often, however, it disguises itself in a peculiar form of resistance, namely, that in which the patient endeavours to get the better of the analyst, to prove that he has made a mistake or to make him feel the patient's superiority. When this happens it complicates the mechanism of compensation in the analysis of a neurosis, because in this way not only is the physician depreciated but the incentive to the patient to tell everything is weakened. Often it is only the pressure of the illness which succeeds in breaking down this resistance. At such decisive moments the compensating association is sometimes to be observed immediately before the one which is being looked for. This may explain the fact that repressions are so often suddenly removed when the patient has given the physician 'a bit of his mind'. Nevertheless it sometimes happens that the resistance is overcome at a single blow when the analyst suggests the compensating thought to the patient in an appropriate manner and at the right point.[6]

III

In therapeutic psycho-analysis we see clearly that the discounting of the motive in repression is often effected so radically that patients can give vent to the most distressing and dangerous ideas unaccompanied by any affect whatsoever, so that their uttering them remains quite without value for the purposes psycho-analysis has in view. Now in such cases there is one definite pathological type in which any sort of compensation is entirely lacking, whilst a second type

[6] I think this explanation brings the mechanism of defiance and of the masculine protest, described by Alfred Adler, into its true place: It is the *form* imposed by the ego in which the conflict of the instincts is fought out. Like everything else to do with logic its importance for character and neurosis is secondary.

is characterized by the megalomaniac nature of the compensating thoughts. The first type belongs to the schizophrenic (or according to Freud, the paraphrenic) syndrome, the second to the paranoiac. In my opinion it is possible from a certain point of view to discriminate two different kinds of discounting process in the specific mechanism of the symptoms in these two diseases. Freud once remarked [7] that in dementia præcox the discounting of the motive for repression proceeds from the patient's displacement of the painful affect from the idea of which he has to speak on to another idea, so that he can give associations entirely free from affect. This statement of Freud's is fully corroborated by the fact that patients suffering from dementia præcox at times exhaust their frenzy in symbolic actions and ideas accompanied by enormously violent affective disturbance, yet revealing the true meaning of this symbolism, however terrible it may be, with a stony calm. They have in fact attached the affect to the symbol. That part of their ego which conducts communications with the outside world remains free from guilt. The sufferer from paranoia, on the other hand, who has projected outwards the unconscious inner processes so that they encounter his 'social' ego in objective fashion, protects himself against the onslaught of the painful unconscious idea by opposing to it a compensating idea of a megalomaniac nature. All these considerations must here be included under the higher common principle of narcissism. In every instance it is narcissism which represents for the morbid psyche the element in it that still has a capacity for life; it is the patient's narcissism which is defended against the dissociated affects which threaten it from the unconscious and it is for that same narcissism that compensation is designed. The sufferer from dementia can do without the formal achievement of compensation because by the process of introversion he has drawn the whole world into the domain of his narcissism and finds his recompense in this identification.

[7] When this paper was discussed at a meeting of the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society.

SOME REMARKS ON THE STUDY OF RESISTANCES [1]

BY

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Anyone who has followed attentively Freud's first published analysis of a case of hysteria, from which psycho-analysis dates its existence, cannot overlook the significance of the defence symptoms during the treatment. It has become increasingly evident that the theory of resistance (and transference) which was evolved from the observation of those signs of defence has become one of the fundamental principles of psycho-analysis. Freud has again quite recently stated [2] that over and above the special results of analytical work just this factor ' has remained for him decisive for his conviction of the ætiology of the neuroses '.

In spite of this high theoretical and practical significance of the factor of resistance, it has received relatively little treatment in psycho-analytical literature up to the present. Anyone who knows how many difficulties stand in the way of describing any one complete analysis will also recognize that it is impossible to follow up and select for special description the part played by resistance within this process apart from the analysis of dreams and symptoms. Indeed, the resistance runs like a red strand through the analysis, and it would be as difficult to disentangle it from the whole as from the ropes of the English navy. The object of the following remarks, the fragmentary character of which has already been indicated in the title, is merely to stimulate discussion of a conception which is of such importance for psycho-analytical teaching.

If anyone were to ask how the patient's resistance expresses itself,

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[1] Published in the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, Bd. III, 1915.

[2] ' On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement ' (1914). Translation contained in *Collected Papers*, Vol. I, 1924.

the answer would run: In all those hindrances which oppose themselves to the restitution of the patient's health and effective capacity. This statement, however, must be more clearly defined. Among the obstructions which hinder the aim of the analysis are external conditions, e.g. social and pecuniary considerations, family relationships, and special circumstances of the environment. Obviously the significance of such circumstances which can hardly be altered is not to be underestimated; the danger is rather in the tendency to overestimate them. The physician to whom the patient complains of these circumstances must, in appraising them, keep in mind the following points: (1) The fact that much suffering which at first sight appears undeserved is brought about by the unconscious will of the patient, or at least that its occurrence was not prevented by him although it might have been possible, objectively considered, for him to avoid it. It must not be forgotten that the patient who finds himself in such a situation tries unconsciously to direct the attention of the physician away from the true ætiology of his illness, and therefore puts forward as its cause what is actually the result of the neurosis. These conditions under which the patient is living often become an advantage to him by increasing his 'epinosic gain', and by making it possible for him to retain his neurosis in accordance with his unconscious desire. To give an example: Some one finds no possibility of getting employment, although to all appearance he seeks it with all his energy, and suffers sorely from pressing poverty. In this case—of course not invariably, but still very frequently—one may assume that the person in question unconsciously overlooks many an opportunity, nay, even with unconscious purpose himself destroys many a chance. In looking for the motive of such strange behaviour one often comes upon tendencies to self-punishment based on an unconscious sense of guilt. One might say that the overvaluation of such external conditions as pathological factors in the formation of the neurosis runs parallel to the pre-analytical overvaluation of the hereditary factor. (2) The psycho-analyst will cherish the expectation that the completion of the analysis will clear away a great proportion of these external obstacles. Without directly interfering by advice or action in the circumstances under consideration the physician will patiently watch the time nearing when his patient, freed from his inner inhibitions, will himself take the initiative, and with regained insight and energy will himself bring about the changes which appear to him desirable. (3) The physician will be powerless

in face of certain of the external difficulties which must be objectively recognized, but he may comfort himself with the acknowledgment that their abolition lies only in the hands of a higher power, of almighty fate itself.

We have said that resistance is expressed in all those obstacles which the patient puts in the way of his becoming well. As the outstanding difficulty of this sort, we are familiar with the dearth of associations, forgetting, etc. Indeed, even the opposite, fluency and loquaciousness, may under some circumstances be a sign of resistance. This is naturally connected with the question of choice and censorship of the associations. The physician, who at the beginning of the treatment acquaints the patient with the one and only condition of psycho-analytical procedure, viz. the obligation to say everything and to exercise no censorship on the associations, knows beforehand that this condition will not be kept by the patient. But the degree of deviation from this ideal behaviour will be an indication to the physician of the extent of the resistance. There may be an over-abundance of readily expressed thoughts which are designed, just as much as a failure of associations, in spite of the contrast, to mislead the physician. The psycho-analyst will not allow himself to be taken aback by such surprises ; just as he assumes that a lack of ideas has a meaning and indicates the cropping up of resistance against painful confessions, even so will he suspect that such a superfluity of ideas is purposely intended to cover and keep from him precisely that which is necessary for resolving a symptom. The web of thought-material in this case might be compared with a wide-meshed net, through the interstices of which the most valuable of its contents escape. In many cases it proves that the patient on the same or the previous day had jotted down a large number of ideas with the intention of telling them to the physician, who will not overlook the fact that gifts presented with such ceremony seldom furnish what is desired. Generosity in one direction is only a cover for miserliness in another. Just as loquaciousness has already revealed itself as a symptom of resistance, so also we may expect to find that this readiness to co-operate has a further unconscious motivation, namely, the wish to defy the analyst and to seize the conduct and guidance of the analysis into the patient's own hands. Indeed, it can sometimes be shown that such behaviour contains an unconscious derision of the physician, the infantile character of which becomes clearer when one thinks of the grotesque stories which children relate

to adults about the alleged origin of children, in which they betray their contempt of the stork-fable and of those who are responsible for it.

The form, intensity and period when the resistance arises during treatment are so different in each case that one may be inclined to attempt a classification of patients from this point of view. For example, it can be observed that those patients in whom the transference is quickly and easily established, and who apparently show no symptoms of a strong resistance, usually develop later an embittered and prolonged resistance which is very difficult to surmount; whereas most of the cases in whom intensive resistances against the physician make the outlook at the start unpromising may ultimately have a favourable prognosis. In a psycho-analysis in which everything runs smoothly, in which no resistances disclose themselves, one should always be suspicious; and one may be equally suspicious of all those attempts at modifications of the analysis which boast of having weakened or even abolished the resistances. Psycho-analysis resembles the work of a machine which necessarily requires friction for its effective operation.

There are also more or less direct expressions of resistance, e.g. in the form of outbreaks of anger against the physician or some third person. The transformation of one form of resistance into another is to be observed every day in analysis. Indeed, it may happen that the form of resistance changes when the patient is transferred from one analyst to another—a thing usually to be avoided. Thus one patient expressed his resistance towards the physician who was treating him by constant complaints that the physician and his methods did not interest him, that his remarks left him bored and indifferent; he felt towards him merely a cool esteem which often bordered on a sense of superiority. After a chance visit to the consulting-room of another psycho-analyst the resistance took a more elementary form, in which the patient characterized this second physician immediately on leaving his house as a 'disgusting Jew' and complained of his alleged hardness and heartlessness.

More veiled expressions of resistance are, however, the most common. Thus Dr. Abraham told me of a patient whose resistances assumed an interesting æsthetic disguise: the patient spent several hours of analysis expressing his lively dissatisfaction with the contents of the consulting-room, found this piece of furniture misplaced, that arrangement tasteless, and so on. Of course the form and

content of this, as of every resistance, is psychically determined and over-determined in a manner characteristic of the particular patient. The complete measure of neurotic resistance can, indeed, be learnt only by the analysis of dreams and symptoms; in these formations there is not infrequently hidden a flood of the vilest wishes and of vituperation directed against the physician.

Just as the patient mentioned above found means of expressing his resistance to the physician in a biting criticism of his abode, so it also happens that the resistance is directed against the relations and friends of the analyst. A parallel with the behaviour of primitive peoples is here evident: savages who wish to injure anyone will get possession of some portion of something which belongs to the person in question, and through the medium of this object they believe that they have power over its owner; if primitive people think themselves wronged or insulted, then the law of tribal vengeance comes into play, which holds not only the doer of the deed responsible but also his relatives and friends. This attitude is analogous to the criticism of the analyst's furniture and the hostility towards his relatives. One case is known to me in which the discontent of the patient with his physician was expressed by his opening the analytic hour with complaints of the impoliteness and stupidity of his servant.

Just as frequent as these and similar forms of resistance are the analogous variations in the manner of transference: e.g. a keen interest in the patient about members of the analyst's family circle, a liking and respect for them, behind which unconscious death-wishes often lurk, especially with female patients. We need to be constantly reminded that in his relations with the physician the patient creates a repetition of the infantile situation. The childish Œdipus-situation is thus completely reproduced when the physician stands for the father and his wife for the mother, and the neurotic resistance towards the analyst is accompanied by a passionate love for his wife (or daughter), whom the patient has perhaps never seen. Again strong feelings of jealousy towards the physician's sons may be regarded as a return of childish feelings (jealousy of brothers). The analysis of one case in which the patient complained with marked emotion of the behaviour of another patient, unknown to him, in the waiting-room, showed that behind these complaints were hidden reproaches against the physician, who was presumed to prefer the other patient just as the father had preferred his brothers to the patient who later became neurotic.

A resistance which is evinced by a dearth of ideas or by withholding the communication of them may often be found in analysis to depend not only on a reluctance to admit thoughts unpleasant and painful to the ego of the patient, but also on feelings of hostility towards the analyst. In certain cases a silence in the analysis denotes an unconscious self-punishment for reprehensible wishes against the physician. Thus a highly intelligent lady suffering from an obsessional neurosis once admitted spontaneously that her silence really represented the idea that she was dying.

The behaviour of patients for whom no payment is taken as regards the resistance needs separate consideration. The principle of refusing to give free treatment which Freud recommends in his papers on Technique [3] may well be founded on the fact that under certain circumstances free treatment brings about a particular form of enhanced resistance. Gratitude prevents the patient from manifesting his resistance in the same form and with the same intensity as do other patients. The seat of the resistance needs patient and careful search by the physician for its disclosure. For instance, he may come upon the defiance of a young man who is unwilling to accept any free gift from the analyst just as he once did from his father; or he finds mistrust of the physician expressed as a fear that he will treat him with less attention than other patients more blessed with worldly goods. Here is an example: the analyst is, perhaps, once prevented from keeping his appointment for the hour of analysis and writes to put the patient off. The next hour brings a surprisingly high degree of resistance, not justified by the subject-matter under discussion. The patient had taken the postponement as a sign of unconscious depreciation and connected it with the fact of his being treated for nothing. His narcissism had interpreted the incident as a humiliation, and this real *contretemps* was responsible for the increase of resistance.[4]

Finally resistance may also manifest itself in the behaviour of the patient as regards time, not only in coming late for analysis, but also in repeated questioning as to how late it is, looking at the clock, etc., all of which are to be regarded as symptoms of resistance.

One form in which resistance is expressed deserves particular

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[3] *Sammlung kleiner Schriften*, Vierte Folge, S. 424.

[4] Naturally the feeling of rejected (homosexual) love contributes materially to this result.

mention: this is the 'tests' by which the patient tries to convince himself of the efficacy of psycho-analysis. As with the patient mentioned in Freud's *Traumdeutung* who after being told of the general wish-fulfilment tendency in dreams reacted with a dream of a 'contrary wish', so patients sometimes will react by putting the case to a test when the analyst has given them some significant explanation. Let us take, for example, a patient who has just learnt a factor in the causation of his chief symptom, psychical impotence; he hastens now to find an opportunity for sexual intercourse, and experiences a failure in coitus. He has thus given expression to his unconscious resistance to that explanation, to the very explanation with which perhaps a few hours before he had actively expressed his agreement and which he had felt in consciousness almost as a relief. The more favourable case may also be cited; coitus is successful and the full capacity for enjoyment is this time restored; but then it is likely to be merely a result of the transference, to be annulled by the first disturbance of the transference.

With regard to the mistake that the psycho-analyst would make by interfering in some current conflict of the patient, for example, by giving advice, Ernest Jones has already said all that is of consequence.[5] One might, perhaps, add that the request for advice itself may be a form of resistance, a trap set by the resisting forces. Let us assume that the physician's advice was such as would lead to a solving of the problem set, it would turn out that the desired effect would after all not follow. For the resistances of the patient will show themselves in an unconscious opposition; in carrying out the advice he may make some slip, he may cling to the strict wording of the advice and overlook its real meaning, or unconsciously modify the advice in some way corresponding to his secret wishes. The failure, however, will then be used to increase resistance by blaming the analyst. Sometimes, indeed, such giving of advice actually produces a 'tertiary gain' supporting the illness, in that the transference becomes a permanent one; the patient will not do without his dependence on the physician, and remains ill in order to maintain this relationship.

The phenomenon which we already know of as 'defiant obedience' then comes to light in this form, that while slavishly following the directions of the physician the patient expects and unconsciously

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[5] *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, Third Edition, 1923, p. 334.

demands that he should maintain the conditions created by this advice. The patient thus behaves like railwaymen and others in their 'passive resistance'. It is well known that in the railway regulations there are a number of rules and orders which, if put into actual practice, would result in a paralysis of the whole system. It is therefore an understood thing, agreed upon between managers and subordinates, that these orders should be disregarded and the traffic carried on according to arrangements found workable in practice. Now if our railway officials and employees believe they have reason to be discontented with their pay, working hours, etc., they begin a 'passive resistance', that is, they keep strictly to the regulations laid down; and by this grotesque and insolent form of strike within the official regulations they create a considerable disturbance in the usual traffic, and indeed often bring it to a complete standstill.

The last resistance in the treatment, often one most difficult to overcome, concerns the final solution of the transference. The patient strives with every method of stubbornness and even hatred to avoid detaching his love from the physician and turning it towards other people.

We know that serious resistances usually arise only after a mental and emotional rapport has been established between patient and physician, i.e. when the transference in some form has been developed. I must not omit to point out in this connection one important factor, the very manner in which the analyst listens to the complaints of the neurotic is in itself an effective stimulus to the establishment of the transference.

Professor Freud has drawn attention, in a lecture given in Vienna in February, 1914, to a fundamental difference which distinguishes psycho-analytical therapy from other psychotherapeutic methods. Let us suppose that a neurotic woman comes to a nerve specialist complaining of obsessive thoughts which torment her—for instance, that she will have to poison her husband whom she loves dearly. She is continually tortured by the conflict that this temptation wages with her feelings towards her husband. Now how will most neurologists receive such a case, which is far from rare? They will listen to her tale, shake their heads earnestly, and attempt to talk the poor woman out of her obsessive idea—assuming that she shows herself otherwise normal mentally—by saying something like: 'That is nonsense, put it out of your head. Use every effort not to think of

such things. Amuse yourself; go to theatres and concerts; travel, etc.'[6] One need only point to the impossibility of the patient's putting it out of her mind to show the absurdity of such therapy. The psycho-analyst after hearing the patient's complaints will say something like this: 'Well, that is very interesting. Now tell me, please, when this idea first occurred to you, under what circumstances, etc.' He will not just set aside the obsessive idea as disagreeable and foolish; on the contrary, he will assume that it has some special meaning in the mental life of the patient, that it is somehow connected with her experiences, wishes and conflicts, and that it is his task to discover the psychological motive and latent meaning of this obsessive thought.

We shall now leave this comparison of the psychotherapeutic efficacy of the two methods, only emphasizing one factor: the effect of the manner in which her story is received on the patient herself. Whereas she has hitherto met everywhere with derision when she states her case, and is prepared to find the obsession received at best with a gentle smile of irony by the physician, she meets with understanding from the psycho-analyst who takes the obsessive idea seriously, believes in its sense and significance, and concerns himself with its origin and development. But this serious concern is just what renders possible the effective formation of the transference. Whereas the patient has been wounded in her unconscious narcissism by the disregard and ridicule of her idea, the attention which the psycho-analyst gives to all her thoughts and symptoms, however absurd and far-fetched, comforts her and flatters her self-esteem. It must not be forgotten that though the patient may consciously regard her ideas and symptoms as foreign bodies and condemn them, unconsciously she regards them as products of her own personality and somewhat with the love which a mother tends to give a child crippled from birth. Neglect and contempt of a symptom or communication of the patient's, even if merely shown by a relaxation of the constant measure of attention, would indicate a double failure in technique on the part of the physician: it would result not merely in a loss of psychological insight, but would be responded

[6] Other methods too will be used, aimed at making the ideas seem quite absurd. Their removal by hypnosis may be attempted, and Dubois would not fail to give ethical encouragement and try to strengthen the patient's self-confidence.

to by an increase of resistance due to the wounding of the patient's narcissism.[7]

It seems to me not out of place here to point out a technical factor which, although of marked importance and assuredly known to all physicians who practise analysis, has not yet, so far as I know, found due consideration in psycho-analytical literature. We already know the important part which the 'counter-transference' in the physician may play within the process of analysis; we know that it belongs to the task of the physician to overcome this attitude by self-analysis. Now a 'counter-resistance' analogous to the 'counter-transference' can be shown to exist, mastery over which, of course, lies also in self-analysis. Feelings of vexation and impatience are too deeply planted in the human soul for the physician easily to overcome them, particularly when he is opposed by a powerful resistance. Especially when the treatment has come to a 'dead stop' owing to intensive resistance on the part of the patient, there is imminent danger that the feeling of annoyance at the temporary halt and at the obstinacy of the patient may become fortified into a counter-resistance, which manifests itself in a decrease of interest in the case or even in a change in the mode of treatment. The consequences of such a counter-transference being allowed to develop would naturally be extremely unfavourable for the progress of the treatment.

We know from Freud the mental mechanisms by which resistances arise; we shall here attempt to indicate on what ground they arise and to what impulses they owe their strength. We believe that three components in particular contribute to the formation of resistance: narcissistic, hostile (and the closely allied homosexual), and anal-erotic trends.

1. The significance of the narcissistic attitude and its disturbing effects in the production of resistance have often been emphasized by us. A partial derivation of resistance from narcissism is all the more readily clear to us when we have learnt to understand the intimate connection between repression and resistance, and to give

[7] This neurotic narcissism even shows itself in a certain attitude towards the illness, which makes the patient regard his own illness as something out of the common and refuse to see the typical traits which link it to other cases, regarding his own as a specially distinguished case which demands special consideration.

it due weight. Primary narcissism flows into the formation of the ego-ideal, which conditions repression on the part of the ego.[8] By means of the analysis, however, the comparison between the real and the ideal ego which is constantly going on in the unconscious is transplanted to the conscious level; the battle between tendencies permitted and condemned by the ego is resumed under changed conditions, whereas formerly there was a truce repeatedly broken and maintained only by means of the compromise-formation of the neurotic symptoms. Unconsciously, however, the physician becomes for the patient the embodiment of the censorial factor which he calls conscience. This derivation is also based on genetic factors, for conscience is primarily founded on parental criticism, and the physician becomes for the patient the representative of his father. What the patient is in fact struggling against is the constant comparison between the real and the ideal self, which the analyst compels him to carry out in consciousness by showing him how the conscious intentions and actions that are in accordance with his ego-ideal are continually being disturbed and prevented by unconscious processes in his real ego.

A particular position in relation to our problem is assumed by those numerous cases of neurosis in which the castration complex plays a part in the pathogenesis. The resistance of the patient then assumes the character of making the physician represent the father in his rôle of disturbing and threatening the patient's sexual life. This fear, however, may be based not only on memories of threats of castration by the father, but also on the infantile overvaluation of his own member. If the castration fears directed on to the doctor are followed up further, one invariably discovers behind them condemned and forbidden (e.g. incestuous) wishes and phantasies.

In so far, moreover, as the comparison of the child, harassed as he is by the dark urges of his impulses, with his father has afforded an impetus to the construction of his ego-ideal, the child unconsciously incorporates features of the father in his ego-ideal. Thus the physician, as a father-representative, also becomes an ego-ideal transplanted into the outer world. A large part of the process of transference must be explained in this way. Resistance looked at

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[8] Cf. Freud, 'Zur Einführung des Narzissmus,' *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, Vierte Folge, S. 78.

from this point of view may be described as a striving against giving out homosexual libido-components.

2. Hostile feelings against the physician in the form of resistance are already determined by the revival of those feelings which once concerned the father. But since, as we know, the typical attitude towards the father is ambivalent, hostile tendencies are constantly wrestling with affectionate ones, the continued existence of which in the unconscious leads to homosexual feelings. The intensity of the feelings of enmity against the physician is reinforced by the patient defending himself from the homosexual impulses which assail him. Thus resistance presupposes part of the working of mental mechanisms which Freud's analysis has shown particularly in cases of paranoia,[9] namely, the reaction to the endopsychic perception of one's own homosexual tendencies. The formula given by Freud for the denial of homosexual phantasies runs: I do not love him, I hate him. Resistances regarded from this point of view are protective measures arising out of the fear of temptation: they are meant to protect the male patient from his own homosexual impulses, the female patient from her heterosexual ones.

It must be mentioned that in more than one point the resistance derives directly from the transference and its pyschological effects. Thus when a sufficient degree of transference has been established, the patient tries to win for himself the physician whom he unconsciously loves, wants to impress him, and display his best side to him. But just in this the analysis hinders him, forcing him to acknowledge precisely those things which he thinks will make him sink in the doctor's esteem. Resistances shown, for example, in a dearth of associations may thus often be interpreted as definite signs of homosexual and narcissistic attachment (libido-cathexis). The relationship of this process with the consciousness of guilt can be easily established, thanks to the explanation given by Freud:[10] the dissatisfaction in consequence of a failure to fulfil the narcissistic ego-ideal sets free homosexual libido, which is transformed into the consciousness of guilt. 'The sense of guilt was originally fear of punishment by the parents, or more correctly, fear of losing their love . . .' (Freud). In the form of resistance just described, the neurotic shows regressively the psychogenesis of the sense of guilt,

[9] *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, Dritte Folge, S. 251.

[10] 'Zur Einführung des Narzissmus.'

by fearing unconsciously that his confessions will result in the loss of the physician's love.[11]

3. Traits which may be explained as vestigial remnants, or regressive revivals of infantile anal erotism, or reaction-formations against them. Freud [12] and Jones [13] have expressly drawn attention to the intimate relation between anal-erotic and hostile impulses. It appears that we may venture to assume a certain connection between neurotic withholding and repression of emotion and the infantile pleasure found in holding back excrement; though I shall not try to determine the special nature of the connection and the finer mechanisms which mediate between the two processes. But it seems clear to me that two of these traits which Freud [14] describes as constantly associated with the anal-erotic character, namely, miserliness and defiance (as intensifications of thrift and stubbornness), may claim a place in the tissue of resistance-symptoms. Anyone who has ever conducted an analysis will have encountered during its course such neurotic manifestations of defiance, and will have had opportunities to observe how the miserliness of the neurotic is shown in the form of resistance to rendering up the unconscious material.

It has been already remarked that these attempts to trace out the nature of resistance do not claim to deal with all the factors concerned. For example, the significance of intensely repressed exhibitionism has not been considered; nor again all those trends and impulses which bring about both repression and resistance in the same way. But we may accept as a fact that the three factors mentioned above can be demonstrated very constantly, if not with equal intensity, in the structure of every resistance.

In his resistance the patient renews regressively his struggles against all those persons in his childhood who compelled him to

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[11] An excellent illustration of a resistance conditioned in this way is to be found in Freud's account of the analysis of an obsessional neurotic. *Sammlung kleiner Schriften*, Dritte Folge, S. 159.

[12] 'Die Disposition zur Zwangsneurose,' *Sammlung kleiner Schriften*, Vierte Folge, S. 113.

[13] 'Hate and Anal Erotism in the Obsessional Neurosis,' *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, Third Edition, p. 553.

[14] 'Charakter und Analerotik,' *Sammlung kleiner Schriften*, Zweite Folge, S. 132.

renounce pleasures derived from infantile sexual activities and phantasies. Thus the analysis becomes a shortened recapitulation and re-living of those important inner conflicts from which the patient has tried to escape by his flight into illness.

We have repeatedly seen how the expressions of neurotic resistance, just like other neurotic symptoms, bear particularly the character of compromise. Neurotic patients experience, in the production of their symptoms and in the resistance against their removal, happenings similar to those met with by the hero of a parody by Nestroy which has fallen into undeserved oblivion. A young adorer was once given a handsome stick by his beloved. The fickle damsel later broke faith with him, and the poor fellow, crushed by this fate, wandered about the land as a vagrant musician. Years after, as an ageing, embittered man he still continued to carry this stick about with him, and once, when asked what it meant to him, he replied: 'I carry this stick as an eternal memento of a person whom I want never to remember.'

POLYPHALLIC SYMBOLISM AND THE CASTRATION COMPLEX [1]

BY

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I

Ferenczi[2] and Freud[3] have recently called attention to the connection between that impressive item of Greek mythology, the Medusa head and the castration complex; the particular aspect of the castration complex that is concerned being that connected with the absence of the penis in the female. Ferenczi tells us that, in dealing with dream material and free associations, he has repeatedly found that the Medusa head is to be interpreted as a symbolic representation of the external female genitalia. In this representation the idea of castration aroused by the absence of the penis is (in virtue of a 'displacement from below upwards') referred to the severed head instead of to the genital region, while the central thought itself—that of the lacking member—is (in virtue of a process of 'representation through the opposite') conveyed by *a multitude of phallic symbols*—i.e. the snaky hair of Medusa. In the present communication an endeavour will be made to confirm the occurrence of this latter symbolism, to illustrate other forms of polyphallic symbolism, to show that these also are related in the same way to the castration complex, and to indicate some further problems to which this polyphallic symbolism gives rise. The material used will be drawn partly from psycho-analytic data obtained from my own work or recorded by others, and partly from mythology.

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[1] Read before the British Psycho-Analytical Society, Dec. 5, 1923. I am much indebted to various members of the Society for helpful comments and suggestions, some of which I have been able to incorporate here.

[2] *Int. Zeitschrift f. Psychoanalyse*, 1923, IX, p. 69.

[3] This number of the JOURNAL, p. 125.

A very striking case is reported in a recent paper by Dr. H. Flournoy.[4] 'A patient suffering from impotence dreams as follows. . . . I am holding in my hand my organ, which has assumed enormous proportions; it pours out liquid in a continuous stream and I have a clear impression of my strength and virility, though without any voluptuous sensation. The organ takes on such proportions that I begin to get alarmed and its extremity becomes transformed into the head of a serpent; it moves in all directions and I get frightened lest it should bite my hand; I have also the impression that it is no longer liquid but fire that it spits out from its mouth. At this point I awake and have quite involuntarily an image of the head of a certain woman, the hair being composed of serpents.' Commenting on this dream and the hypnopompic vision, Dr. Flournoy says: 'The search for sexual capacity which receives such crude expression in the dream itself, finds its immediate corrective in the waking phantasy. For the vision of a head alone is but an image of decapitation, that is to say, of castration, especially when this head serves as a support for serpents.' In this connection Dr. Flournoy also draws attention to the case of Medusa as well as to that of Samson, the shaving of whose head is clearly a symbol of castration.

A definite and completely spontaneous reference to the Medusa head occurred during the process of free association in one of my own cases. (Case A—a woman with a very marked female castration complex.) While talking of a certain abhorrence which she felt to physical contact with her mother (to whom her relationship was of a very ambivalent kind), she remarked that this abhorrence was perhaps more closely connected with her mother's hair than with any other part of the body. She had been obliged, much to her disgust, to brush her mother's hair, after the latter had met with an accident. Her mother's hair at this time, she thought, seemed to be alive, seemed in an uncanny way to be able to move of itself, behaved in fact as if it were like Medusa's hair, a mass of serpents. She then remembered that shortly before, while brushing the hair of an intimate friend, there had occurred to her the idea that hair was very like 'a lot of little penises'. Hair was for this patient very closely connected with the castration complex. Women's hair and hats appeared to her to be an unmitigated nuisance. She wore her hair short and (like so many other women with a pronounced

[4] 'Çiva Androgyne': *Archives de Psychol.*, 1922, XVII, p. 244.

castration complex) removed her hat as soon as she entered a house, just as a man would do. Further association revealed the fact that, next to the hair, the parts of her mother's body that she most disliked were the fingers and nails. Here again, there is a resort to polyphallic symbolism; while the connection thus established between snakes and fingers reminds us of the classic case of Dora [5] who saw her own fingers transformed into snakes.

The further course of the analysis fully confirmed the supposition which this series of associations would naturally lead us to adopt, namely, that this patient had unconsciously endowed her mother with a penis in a way that is more often done by men. In her case, however, the attribution of the penis to the mother was intimately connected with the equation penis = child, and we shall have occasion to return to the case later on in this connection.

I will now give some extracts from a series of dreams obtained from another case:—Case B, a medical man in whom the castration complex—this time in its typical masculine form connected with the Œdipus complex—was also very prominent. Such portions of the dreams and of the relevant associations will be given as are necessary to show clearly (*a*) the existence of the castration complex; (*b*) its connection with the polyphallic symbolism of the dreams; (*c*) its relation to the Œdipus complex.

Dream I. 'I arrive too late at a confinement: the baby is already dead through the mother's fault. There is an inquest at the coroners' court. I am in a hurry to get it over. I then wish to become a regular subscriber to *The Times*. I start by buying two copies and try to give two old valueless coins in exchange. I then find myself in a temple full of terrifying dragons spitting fire and of gods with two or more heads.'

Arriving too late refers to a mild psychosexual disability from which the patient suffered, and as the result of which an attempted coitus had resulted in an *ejaculatio præcox* on the evening preceding the dream. Here again there is a 'representation through the opposite', 'too late' being substituted for 'too early'. That it should be a *confinement* at which the dreamer arrives too late is determined, in the first place, by professional preoccupations; but, in view of the context in which this item appears, and of the general tendency of the dreamer's unconscious mentality, we are almost

[5] Freud: *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, Bd. II, S. 1.

certainly justified in giving it a further interpretation determined by the unconscious equation, birth process = coitus (with the mother), an equation of considerable significance to which we shall have occasion to refer again in what follows. The *dead baby*, besides other references which do not directly concern us here, refers to the dreamer's own penis which had been impotent ('dead') at the attempted coitus. The baby is dead through *the mother's fault*, because the impotence is determined by inhibitions connected with the dreamer's attachment to his mother—a fact which he was beginning to realize at the stage of the analysis at which this dream occurred. The *inquest* represents an examination and bears the usual interpretation of examination dreams, which, as Freud has shown, usually relate to fear of impotence, an interpretation which was very amply corroborated in certain other dreams of this subject, while the *hurry* is a continuation of the idea of being late. There is also present in this part of the dream the fear that the inquest will bring out facts demonstrating the dreamer's guilt (guilt, superficially of professional neglect, but, at a deeper layer, of incest). The wish to become a *regular subscriber to 'The Times'* corresponds to a conscious desire, the gratification of which the subject had denied himself on grounds of expense. But this matter also has unconscious roots related to the main theme of the dream, inasmuch as the dreamer frequently associated wealth with potency. Further association showed that by a play on words *The Times* stood for testicles in a foreign language with which the dreamer was familiar. To subscribe to *The Times* is moreover, the patient remarked, the best way of getting reliable news, of knowing what is going on, and this train of thought soon led him to the subject of the desire for accurate sexual knowledge, which had played a large part in his early life, and which was a theme intimately connected with the castration complex, because of its close association with problems presented by the penis-lacking genitalia of his mother and his sisters. The act of becoming a regular subscriber to a newspaper is also the means of providing insurance against accidents (i.e. against castration). *The two copies* of *The Times* refer to the fact that coitus had been attempted twice on the dream night, and to the existence of the two testicles. It also perhaps indicates the beginning of the 'polyphallic' theme with which the dream ends. The paying for the newspapers with old valueless coins conveys the idea of an exchange as the result of which new and more potent genitals are obtained in the place of old and relatively

impotent ones. In a previous dream the idea of obtaining possession of the father's genitals had been expressed under the symbolism of obtaining (with the mother's help) three coins belonging to the father. It may be noted here that the idea of obtaining or growing fresh genitals is one that is not uncommon in connection with polyphallic symbolism in folklore where it most frequently takes the form of the growth of fresh phalli when the old ones are cut off.

The temple, as was to be expected, symbolized the mother, and in the *terrifying dragons* and multi-headed gods we have the polyphallic symbolism itself, which stands out in strong contrast to the fear of impotence which is evident throughout the dream as analysed. In real life the patient had been afraid of what he had described as the vast emptiness of certain temples which he had seen in the East, and the fact that in the dream the empty temples are replaced by a temple that is full of phallic symbols indicates the source of the fear of the emptiness, i.e. the lack of the penis in the mother. It would thus seem that besides satisfying certain more superficial wishes, this dream gratifies three major desires, i.e. (*a*) incest with the mother (the complementary aspect of the Œdipus complex is only slightly indicated here in the money episode, though it was more strongly marked in many other contemporary dreams) ; (*b*) the increase of the patient's own phallic power ; (*c*) the abolition of the painfully felt lack of the penis in the mother.

In another dream occurring very shortly afterwards, further light is thrown upon the significance of polyphallic symbolism and the conclusions at which we arrive from a study of *Dream I* are amplified and corroborated.

Dream II. 'I pull up a curtain and see first a lot of lancers, then a peacock on a tower. . . . (After an interval.) A man's penis is being removed during circumcision ; it is going to be sewn on again afterwards. A hole is made in place of the penis.'

Pulling up the curtain reminded the patient of rather frequent attempts as a child to pull up the clothes of his mother and his sisters in the hope of being able to inspect their genitals, also of attempts to catch a glimpse of parental coitus. The patient then remarked that he hated to see the genitals of little girls, they appeared very ugly and seemed to lack some essential feature. Even now he disliked seeing or touching the female genitalia. The ugliness of this region in little girls contrasted strikingly with the 'pretty' penis of little boys, which had always been a pleasant sight. It

thus became clear that the polyphallic symbolism of the first part of this dream (' a lot of lancers . . . peacock . . . tower ') serves as a wish-fulfilment in that it corrects the painful sight originally revealed by, or associated with, pulling up the clothes, i.e. it replaces the disagreeable lack of the penis by a multiplicity of phallic objects.

The second half of the dream affords corroboration of this and reveals the close association between the impression created by the lack of the penis in women and the patient's own fear of castration. In association to this part of the dream, the patient remarked that since a hole was substituted for the penis ' the man was made into a woman '.

At the same time this dream also contains a reference to the theme of the acquirement of a fresh penis, in this case by the ' sewing on ' of the old one.

Following on the analysis of these two dreams, there occurred on the immediately subsequent night the perfectly open *Dream III*, in which the patient saw his wife and his mother-in-law standing naked in front of him, each possessing a penis. As often in the case of apparently quite frank and undistorted dreams, this dream contained a further meaning. It served as an introduction to the subject of the patient's unconscious homosexual tendencies to his father and brother, and showed that these tendencies were not unconnected with the castration complex. Those to whom the absence of the penis is very abhorrent can seldom become entirely reconciled to a love-object which possesses this defect, and the persistence of homosexual tendencies—at the unconscious level at least—is therefore facilitated; a fact, which, as Reik has shown and as we ourselves shall have occasion to remark later on, has probably played a rather important rôle in the creation of certain mythical figures of bisexual character.

Three very short dreams of another (male) patient (Patient C) may be added here to illustrate what seems to be the general tendency for polyphallic images to be associated with ideas of castration. This patient remembered as one of his earliest dreams *Dream I*, which he himself styled ' the dream of the multitude of penises '. In it the dreamer seemed to be examining a long row of boys (and girls ?) and carefully inspecting their penes. The context in which this dream first appeared in the course of the analysis, and the associations obtained from it at one time and another, made it abundantly clear

that this dream too was inspired by curiosity with regard to the female genitalia. Until well into his teens, the patient had consciously harboured the idea of a female penis, although in other respects well-remembered experiences of having been bathed together with a girl cousin (he had no sisters) at a very early age, made it evident that his theory was maintained in spite of satisfactory evidence to the contrary.

The castration complex in this patient had in boyhood been stimulated by threats of having the penis cut off as a punishment for masturbation. The connection between the very vivid fear of castration resulting from this and the lack of the penis in girls could not directly be brought into consciousness as a memory, but became sufficiently clear in an indirect way. The associations very frequently returned at this period of the analysis to a certain valley which the patient had known in his early life, and which was sometimes alluded to as 'The Cutting'. At this point the persistent but hitherto apparently irrelevant image of 'The Cutting' revealed itself as a symbol of the genital cleft in young girls, a symbol in which the name as well as the appearance seemed to play an essential rôle. This valley had, so far as the patient was able to remember, always exercised a peculiar fascination on him, and in the light of what emerged in the analysis, we should probably not be too bold in connecting this fascination with the repressed knowledge of the absence of the penis in girls.

Another short dream (*Dream II*) of this patient is worth citing as indicating clearly the idea of phallic regeneration, to which we have already referred. 'I have a multitude of long thin toes. I break off some—this causes no pain—so that the others might grow better.' The associations to this dream led on to the fear of syphilis that the patient had at one time entertained—this fear being associated with a certain acquaintance of earlier years, whose penis the patient had imagined to have crumbled away as a consequence of syphilitic infection. The patient then recalled an earlier dream in which this same acquaintance was having sexual intercourse with his (the patient's) mother. It thus becomes pretty clear that this acquaintance was a dream-substitute for the patient himself, who feared castration (crumbling away of his penis) as a punishment for incestuous wishes. The breaking off of the toes in the manifest dream content refers to this fear, but this expression of fear is immediately corrected by the comforting idea of the operation being

painless and being voluntarily undertaken in order to promote growth (of phallic power), i.e. the very opposite of what is feared. The polyphallic symbolism here (' a multitude of toes ') thus occurs in its usual context—a castration fear, and probably fulfils the same function as that which it has seemed to possess in our other examples, i.e. an emphatic negation of the idea of the absence of a penis, by means of a representation through the opposite.

In a *Third Dream* of this patient the polyphallic symbolism as an over-compensation for the lack of the penis is referred to what is in all probability its original object—the mother. In this dream a certain lady (a very clear mother-substitute), after making deprecating remarks about the patient's fingers, holds out her own fingers to be admired, saying, ' Look at these ! These are true German fingers. . . .' It is unnecessary here to go into all the determinants of the adjective ' German '. It is sufficient to say that it was associated with the ideas of the efficiency of German scientists and workmen, particularly with regard to the construction of lenses for the focussing of light (symbols of potency and of impregnation), and in the skilled use of nails and screws (symbols of the penis). This dream served to recall early curiosity and speculation as to the nature of the mother's penis, together with associated scoptophilic tendencies directed to the mother. Here again then the polyphallic symbolism is employed in the same context and appears to serve the same purpose.

This short collection from my own analytic experience may be completed by a reference to an interesting case studied by Miss A. G. Ikin in a work entitled *Personality from a Study of Dissociation*, a thesis presented for a degree at the University of Manchester,[6] from which she has very kindly permitted me to quote. This work is largely devoted to a study of delirium following severe streptococcal infection in the teeth—a delirium that was accompanied by the development of numerous personalities. At one stage in the history of the case there occurs a ' delirium tremens ' which is of considerable interest from our present point of view, and which the patient herself soon after recovery from the delirium (the contents of which she was fortunately able to recollect) describes as follows :—

' Snakes, twining in and out of curtains and curtain poles—gibbering faces, animal and grotesque caricatures of human beings

[6] To be published in *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, Vol. IV.

glaring at me from all sides. . . . Fantastic swaying dancers who change from fairy to snake and back again . . . horrors in corners, snakes with human heads, with eyes showing the utter blank of idiocy, some wearing a straw hat. I think I am mad and in a mad house. I see heads of people I know opening and shutting mechanically to show a red gory tuft inside, instead of brains, and I realize that in trying to get me out of this awful place they have lost their brains and had to stay too. Caves full of slimy prehistoric monsters through which I had to pass, ichthyosauri, dinosauri, ugly many-headed reptiles, octopuses stretching out their ghastly tentacles to grip me, all ugliness possible, all loathsomeness . . . all moved, shook and seemed to double or treble itself—nothing was still—snakes swarmed all over, even my own fingers turned into snakes and bending back twined themselves with cold slimy bodies round my arms ' (p. 96). In this impressive array of polyphallic symbols, the only items which directly point to an over-compensation against castration fears are the ' red gory tufts ' of those who have lost their brains. It is scarcely necessary to recall to the mind of the reader that madness or mental deficiency is quite often associated with the idea of castration or injury to the reproductive organs. The phallus often appears in free associations as the organ not only of reproduction but of knowledge, and the snake is the symbol both of the phallus and of knowledge. In one of my own (female) patients a very persistent fear of ' feeble-mindedness ' was closely connected with the idea that absence of the penis inevitably implied defective mental power, women being, in virtue of their anatomical deficiency, necessarily of feebler intellect than men.

But if this is the only indication of the castration complex in the passage quoted, corroboration of the expected connection between the polyphallic symbolism and castration fears occurs in the further course of the delirium and in the associations subsequently obtained in connection with it. (The deliria as originally recorded soon after their occurrence were later on treated by the psycho-analytic method.)

As the delirium proceeds a man and a woman fuse into a combined figure (p. 98 of the original thesis). A little later the patient is being tormented by spirits who are shooting hot darts at her (p. 114). The sensory stimulus underlying this delirium is the very severe neuralgia from which the patient was at that moment suffering ; but the form of the explanation given in the delirium is almost certainly ' polyphallic '

in nature. Dreams in which an attack is made on the dreamer by a large number of phallic objects (knives, swords, sticks, arrows, guns, etc.) are, to judge from my own analytic experience, always connected with the castration complex, and thus agree with the general tendency of polyphallic symbolism. In the present case this interpretation is confirmed by the fact that the patient points a cross (probably symbol of own phallus) at these spirits one at a time and by so doing succeeds in *decapitating* each spirit as it is pointed at, so that ' the fire [from which the spirits emanated] was soon full of these faces *robbed of their power* ' (p. 114).

After this there appears a man with his legs cut off below the knee. The patient's own feet are also cut off, and in the delirium there seems to be some confusion of identity between this man and the patient herself. Thereupon the patient sees an eye bleeding copiously and at the same time the flow from the patient's own legs ceases and her strength begins to return. She is horrified, for she realizes that, to save her, her friend is losing an eye.

Any doubt as to the close connection of these delirious experiences with the castration complex is removed by the results of the subsequent analysis (pp. 149 ff.). This showed clearly that in the case of the patient there had been a long struggle between what the patient termed the masculine and feminine aspects of her character, and that there was a close relation between the desire for the penis (masculine aspect) and the desire for a child (here, as so often, the analogous wish of the feminine aspect, corresponding to the so frequently discoverable unconscious equation penis = baby). In the patient's own words: ' I want to prove I can do as well as a man, to do a man's work. Yet too, more than anything, I want to be a woman and a woman wants love, a man to love and be loved by, to care for and by whom to be cared for; and most of all I want a little child ' (p. 151). The wish to be a man first arose at the age of two. ' It was repressed,' Miss Ikin tells us, ' following the birth of [the patient's] brother, when she was 3¼ years of age, which aroused a longing for a baby of her own [the displacement from penis to baby]. All later revivals in consciousness of the wish to be a man have resulted from environmental checking of the developing libido which then regressed to the earlier stage in which the desire to create was directed towards the creation of male from female instead of the creation of a child ' (p. 176). This ' almost universal wish ', the author continues, is connected with the fact that ' the infantile sexual sensibility in the case

of girls is focussed on the clitoris, the homologue of the penis, and has then to be displaced '.[7]

II

These examples, taken from psycho-analytic practice, show, I think, very clearly the existence of a close relationship between the occurrence of polyphallic symbolism and the existence of a strong castration complex. The discovery of this relationship raises a number of further problems, three of which may be touched on here: (1) Can a similar relationship be traced in the case of polyphallic symbols occurring in folklore and mythology? (2) Can we say anything further as to the dynamics of this relationship, i.e. the real function of polyphallic symbolism in relation to the castration complex? (3) Do the tendencies underlying polyphallic symbolism ever manifest themselves in normal waking life in ways that appear to be of psychological or sociological importance?

Of these problems, the first will be treated here in some detail, while the second and third can be only rather briefly touched upon in conclusion. The consideration of the first will in all probability be found to have put us in a more favourable position for dealing with the second.

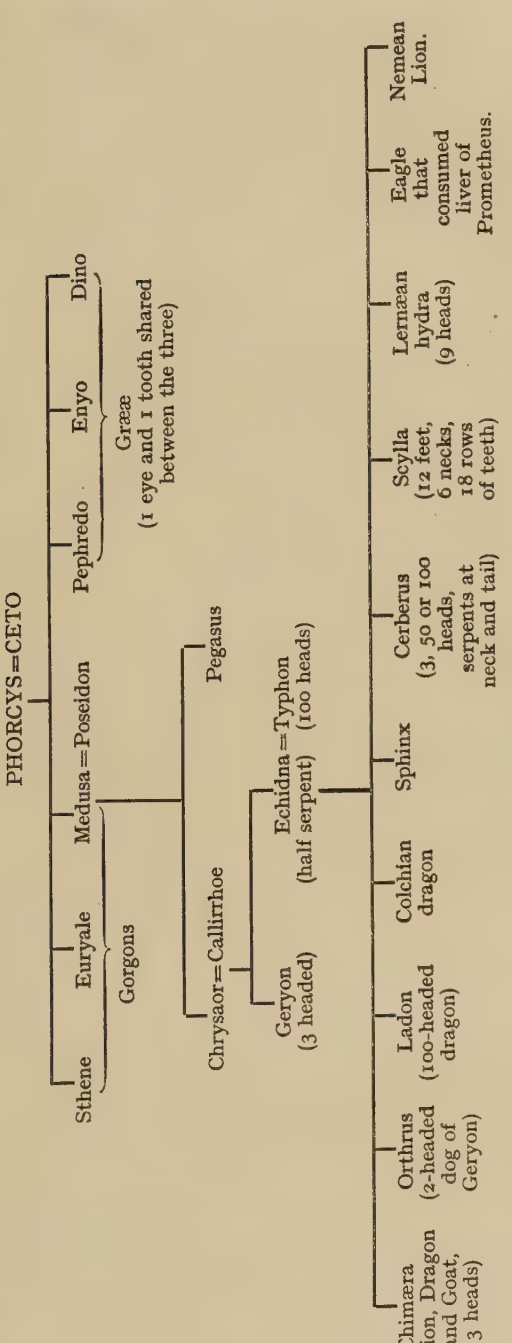
With regard to the first problem, the fact that our consideration of polyphallic symbolism started from Ferenczi's analytical interpretation of the Medusa head, will naturally lead us to suppose that, here as elsewhere, there can be shown to exist a parallelism between the symbols originating in the minds of individual patients undergoing analysis and the productions of the group mind as crystallized in mythology. Confining ourselves here to classical mythology, we are immediately struck by the occurrence of a number of apparently polyphallic figures, in the shape of dragons and other monsters characterized by many heads, limbs or other features such as fre-

[7] Polyphallic symbolism somewhat similar to that here recorded would seem to occur with considerable frequency in alcoholic delirium. It would be interesting to know whether it is here also connected with the castration complex. From the facts that alcohol, from its stimulating properties, is often associated with sexual potency (alcoholic drink = semen), that alcoholics in reality often suffer from some degree of sexual impotence and that alcoholism is closely connected with homosexuality, it would seem very probable that this is the case. Cf. Abraham: *Klinische Beiträge zur Psychoanalyse*, pp. 36 ff.

quently serve as phallic symbols. So many of these monsters occur within a single family (the family of the Phorcidæ—to which Medusa herself belongs) that it seems worth while to give the curious family tree in full (see opposite page).

Of this heterogeneous family, which members show clear traces of being connected with the castration complex, apart from their equipment of polyphallic symbols? Medusa herself is doubtless the most striking case. The beheading of Medusa by Perseus and the terror inspired by the severed head (which has become the subject of countless works of art) points most convincingly to the connection between the act of castration and that prototype of polyphallic symbolism—the serpent hair. Scarcely less clear is the case of the Lernæan hydra, whose nine heads were cut off by Heracles as one of his twelve labours—a case which is important as being one of the prototypes of the idea, which occurs so frequently in folklore, of the dragons' heads growing or duplicating when they are cut off; the idea of the regrowth of the phallus or phalli, which we have already encountered in dealing with the dreams of individual patients. In sharp contrast to Medusa with her many snakes are her mysterious sisters the Grææ —the 'old women'—with their insufficient equipment of phallic symbols. As is well known, they had only one eye and one tooth between them; they seem to be in a sense complementary to their more richly endowed sister and, since 'opposites' are for the unconscious mind so closely alike in meaning, their phallic poverty may be taken to corroborate our interpretation of Medusa's opulence in this respect. The single eye and tooth of the Grææ are nevertheless objects of importance, for it appears that without them Perseus would never have succeeded in beheading Medusa. He therefore steals them from the Grææ as a preliminary measure, so that these latter may also be said to suffer a symbolic castration. There are two further points concerning the Grææ which may be noted in passing. First, their tooth and eye play a part which is often of importance in stories dealing with the slaying of a monster or dragon, i.e. they are essential weapons without which the hero cannot accomplish his task. As these weapons are in very many cases also in the nature of phallic symbols, this is an additional ground (if such is wanted) for regarding the robbing of the Grææ as itself a symbolic act of castration.[8]

[8] The fact that there were *three* Grææ (as there are also three Gorgons) may also be of significance here. We must remember, however, that in the


PHORCYS=CETO
Sthene
Euryale
Medusa=Poseidon
Pephredo
Enyo
Dino
Gorgons
Grææ
(1 eye and 1 tooth shared between the three)
Chrysaor=Callirrhoe
Pegasus
Geryon (3 headed)
Echidna=Typhon (half serpent) (100 heads)
Chimæra (Lion, Dragon and Goat, 3 heads)
Orthrus (2-headed dog of Geryon)
Ladon (100-headed dragon)
Colchian dragon
Sphinx
Cerberus (3, 50 or 100 heads, serpents at neck and tail)
Scylla (12 feet, 6 necks, 18 rows of teeth)
Lernæan hydra (9 heads)
Eagle that consumed liver of Prometheus.
Nemean Lion.

In the second place, the Grææ are the *guardians* of the Gorgons and have therefore to be overcome before the latter can be approached —another frequently recurring feature in story and legend, which is not without some importance for our present theme.

The remaining members of the Phorcidæ are less obviously connected with the idea of castration, but even of these there are several in whom this connection is fairly clearly traceable. Thus Geryon and his dog Orthrus are robbed of their oxen (again frequently recurring phallic symbols) by Heracles, Ladon is robbed of the apples of the Hesperides which he is guarding, and the Nemean lion is slain by the same hero in the course of his ' labours '. Cerberus suffers what is obviously a reduced sentence in being taken prisoner and deported for a time, while Chimæra is slain by Bellerophon, and the Colchian dragon by Jason ; the last-named monster being in all probability psychologically equivalent to the serpent whose teeth when sown in the earth produced a crop of armed men (polyphallic symbols), since both these serpent-born armed men and the guarding dragon itself had to be overcome before the golden fleece could be obtained (i.e. both fulfil the traditional rôle of guardians of the treasure).[9]

These monsters all suffer attack at the hands of one or other of the great heroes, but there are a few members of our family who play the rôle of aggressor ; this being the case with Echidna who steals the horses of Heracles and only gives them up on condition that he shall stay with her for a time (thus compelling him to lead a quiet, unheroic and relatively feminine life, much as Omphale did at another period), Scylla, whose attacks on mariners are well known, and the Promethean eagle. In the actions of these three also it is probably not too far-fetched to see the operation of the castration complex. Echidna in

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earlier accounts there are only two Grææ, and that Homer knows only one Gorgon. Perhaps, however, the very process of increasing the number of these figures to three in either case (as well as in other cases) may not be unconnected with their identification with the male genital, which, as is now well known, is often symbolized by three objects.

[9] Though it is probable that the teeth sown in the earth also represent —and perhaps predominantly so—the semen placed in the mother's womb, there to fructify and give birth to children (= penes = armed men). This suggests a point of contact between the polyphallic symbolism here studied and the ' spermatozoa dreams ' to which Silberer was the first to draw attention. ' Spermatozœnträume,' *Jahrbuch fur psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen*, 1912, IV, p. 141.

her behaviour towards Heracles belongs to that class of mythical figure, which represents the dangerous and seductive female, whose activities range from producing a temporary cessation of heroic activities (Circe or Tannhäuser's Venus) to castration (Delilah) or destruction (the Caucasian queen Thamar, Loreley, the Sirens).

In the light of psycho-analytic experience it is not difficult to interpret Scylla's threat to mariners as a projection of the fear of castration as a result of sexual intercourse. The eagle who eats the liver of Prometheus is only carrying out a symbolic form of castration[10] (Prometheus being punished on the talion principle for the crime he had committed or attempted to commit against his father),[11] while the continual regrowth of the liver itself is an echo of the regrowth of the phallus to which we have more than once referred.

The most unusual and mysterious members of the family are undoubtedly the Sphinx and Pegasus, though these are not obviously polyphallic in nature. The former of these two has recently been made the subject of a very full psycho-analytical investigation by Dr. Reik,[12] so that we need not refer to it here except to remind the reader that the Sphinx very certainly combines both male and female elements, and therefore is probably not unconnected with the castration complex. A little later we shall have occasion to refer to Dr. Reik's conclusions with regard to the Sphinx, which we shall find to have an intimate bearing on our polyphallic monsters. Pegasus, the winged steed, is himself, it would seem, in the nature of a phallic symbol. He serves as an essential (phallic) weapon with the help of which Bellerophon slew Chimæra, he is portrayed by later poets as the steed of love (riding, as so often,=coitus), he caused streams of water to spring out by the blow of his hoofs (elsewhere a phallic function; cf. the rod of Moses): his phallic functions too are not without a striking reference to the castration complex, for when Bellerophon attempts to climb up to heaven on his back (erection symbol; cf. stories of Jack and the Beanstalk type) he gets giddy, falls, and (according to Horace at least) becomes blind or lame in consequence.[13]

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[10] I have known schoolboys who, on first meeting with the story of Prometheus, have had no hesitation in interpreting it in this manner.

[11] Cf. Abraham, Traum & Mythus, p. 56.

[12] 'Œdipus und die Sphinx,' *Imago*, 1920, VI, p. 95. A full abstract of the paper is given in *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1921, I, p. 181.

[13] Carm. IV, ii, 26.

Of the polyphallic figures themselves, the one concerning which we possess the least information is Typhon. He seems to have been one of the obscurer Titans who fought against Zeus; he possessed 100 heads, fearful eyes, and terrible voices, was regarded as the father of the winds and Harpies as well as of the later generation of Phorcidæ and was buried under the earth by Zeus after the failure of the Titanic rebellion.

To pass now outside the family of Phorcys, we find that a like obscurity surrounds the mysterious Hecatoncheires, Briareus (Ægæon), Cottos and Gyges. These also were Titans, sons of Uranus and Ge, with fifty heads, and 100 arms. They were concealed in the depths of the earth by their parents, but were released by Zeus during the war of the Titans, fought in this war on the side of the gods and against their fellow-titans, whom they overcame, largely through their ability to hurl 300 rocks at once, and at the conclusion of the war, were appointed guardians at the gates of Tartarus to prevent the egress of the vanquished insurgent titans who were imprisoned therein. As Lorenz has shown in his article on the Titans,[14] it is probable that the Hecatoncheires were originally thought to be on the side of the other titans, fighting against the gods; their change of side in later traditions (perhaps first introduced by Hesiod) corresponding to the emergence of a strain of filial piety which opposed the violent hatred of the father that otherwise finds expression in the behaviour of the Titans. It must be confessed that our present information does not enable us to demonstrate on the case of Typhon and the Hecatoncheires such a close connection with the castration complex as was possible with the other polyphallic figures we have considered. We may note, however, that their participation in the war of the Titans, one of the objects of which was undoubtedly the castration of the father, serves to bring them into relation with this complex, that by their immense powers (e.g. hurling 300 rocks at once) they seem to fulfil the usual function of polyphallic symbols as representing the very opposite of impotence, and that in their rôle of guardians they also play a part which, as we shall show (p. 174), is not unconnected with other secondary aspects of the castration complex.

There exist two female figures of classical antiquity closely connected with one another, which show no direct association with the

[14] 'Das Titanenmotiv in der allgemeinen Mythologie,' *Imago*, 1913, II, p. 43.

act of castration itself, but which may in all probability be rightly regarded as having arisen under the influence of the childish theory of the 'woman (mother) with the penis'. These are Hecate and Diana. Both are highly complex in nature and origin, but the point about them that is of interest to us here is that both display traces of polyphallic symbolism. Hecate, from the time of the Greek tragedians onward, was definitely regarded as a goddess of the underworld, and as such, is sometimes confused or identified with Persephone—herself, like the domain over which she ruled, a clear symbol of the mother. Hecate is usually portrayed in sculpture by three forms standing back to back, each form being amply provided with phallic attributes, torches, keys, daggers, snakes, dogs, etc. According to Pausanias [15] she is sometimes even represented as a three-headed monster. Diana also is sometimes represented in a threefold form, usually as a single figure with three heads and three pairs of arms (Diana triformis). Now Diana, too, throughout her numerous shapes and transformations is a mother goddess, though, according to the inhibition or freedom of the sexual feelings, she may vary in her nature from that of the chaste huntress (though she too has her *dogs*) to that of the many-breasted Diana of the Ephesians, the very emblem of fertility. In this latter shape she introduces us to a new form of polyphallic symbolism, though one that is not surprising to the psychoanalyst, to whom the unconscious equation of breast and penis is familiar and to whom the breast is also known sometimes to play a part in the formation of the castration complex.

III

These examples, including as they do the most striking cases of polyphallic symbolism from classical mythology, afford us, I think, sufficient grounds for believing that here too this kind of symbolism is intimately associated with the castration complex. But our brief survey of these cases has also served to show us that our understanding of the precise nature of this association is far from complete. The relation between symbol and complex is in some respects more obscure here than in the case of the patients' dreams and phantasies with which we dealt in the earlier part of this paper. A further examination of some of the chief difficulties presented by our mythological

[15] II. 28, 8.

material would seem to be of interest here, not only for an understanding of this latter material itself, but also because it may help to throw light upon the second of the three main problems to which we referred at the beginning of Section II.

Here, as in many other problems of mythology, our difficulties arise largely from the great complexity and variety of the mythological material. Even within the comparatively narrow field of classical mythology to which we have confined ourselves, the polyphallic monsters are sometimes male and sometimes female. We have to ask ourselves what is the significance of this fact. Again we have noticed that the monsters are usually attacked (castrated) by the hero. What is the significance of this attack, particularly in its relation to female monsters (where it cannot easily be accounted for as a simple displacement of the father-regarding aspect of the Œdipus complex)? In certain cases, however, it is the monster who acts as the aggressor. (Echidna, Scylla, the Promethean eagle and to some extent Medusa herself, whose hair and head at any rate, after decapitation, were frequently used by Perseus for aggressive purposes). Once again, the monster frequently acts as guardian to some persons, some treasure or some portal (the Grææ, Ladon, Chimæra, Cerberus, Briareus, the Colchian dragon). Finally what is the relation of polyphallism and the castration complex to scoptophilia, a relation the existence of which is plainly indicated in our prototype of polyphallic monsters—Medusa, though not perhaps in the other cases that we have considered. Of these questions the last (in so far as it can be touched on here—it largely falls outside the sphere of our present inquiry) can be treated separately, while the answers to the others (in so far as we can succeed in giving answers) prove to be closely interrelated.

It would seem that the answers to this latter group of questions have already to a large extent been supplied by Reik in his above-mentioned work on the Sphinx. He there shows that the bisexual nature of the Sphinx is due to the fact that it represents a condensation of father and mother *imagines*. The homosexual elements of a totemic period continued to influence a subsequent period of (heterosexual) mother-goddess worship, a process which 'was reflected in the bestowal on the mother image of the characteristics of the father'. In so far as the Sphinx is a purely masculine (paternal) figure, the hero's encounter with the Sphinx represents the usual combat between father and son, and it might at first be

thought that the hostile attitude of Œdipus towards the Sphinx is entirely due to the presence of this paternal element in the composition of the Sphinx. But, as Reik has shown, the situation is more complex than this. The Œdipus-Sphinx relationship involves not only the elements of the normal male Œdipus complex (father-hate and mother-love) but also elements of the 'inverted' Œdipus complex (father-love and mother-hate). The persistence of the father-love manifests itself in the inability to become reconciled to a female love object and in the consequent retention of male characteristics in the Sphinx as mother-image. The mother-hate (into the complex nature and origin of which we cannot enter here) allies itself to the homosexual father-loving aspects and finds satisfaction in a combat with a figure which has maternal as well as paternal characteristics. But the chief motives that find expression in the combat with a mother-figure are those connected with the infantile sadistic theory of coitus. The act of overcoming the Sphinx is, in its sexual aspects, equivalent to the rape of Jocasta. The Sphinx thus reveals itself as a highly condensed figure, representing both father and mother in their loved and hated aspects. The combat with the Sphinx is (so far as the normal male Œdipus complex is concerned) a slaying of the father and a (sadistic) coitus with the mother combined in a single act.[16]

Reik's explanation of the Sphinx immediately affords a fairly satisfactory answer to the first and second of the questions that we raised above. Apart from the fact of their polyphallism, our monsters are very similar to the Sphinx in general nature and in the rôle that is allotted to them. Just as some Sphinxes are masculine, others feminine, according as the paternal or maternal element in their nature predominates, so also our polyphallic monsters are sometimes masculine (Geryon, Ladon, Cerberus, Orthrus), others feminine (Medusa herself, Chimæra, the Lernæan hydra [?], not to

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[16] In its relation to the 'inverted' Œdipus complex the significance of the two aspects of the deed is probably reversed, sexual love being directed to the father and hatred to the mother; this aspect pointing perhaps, as Reik suggests, to 'a primitive age of mankind when the love choice of the young man was not so decidedly inclined to the woman as now, nor was there so clear a distinction between wooing and fighting—a phase analogous to the anal-sadistic period in the development of the individual' (*Brit. Jour. Med. Psych.*, 1921, I, p. 192).

speak of Hecate and Diana Triformis). Similarly, in all probability, the attack of the hero (Heracles, Perseus, Bellerophon) on the monster sometimes and in some of its aspects represents an attack of the son upon the father; while at other times and in other aspects it represents a sadistic coitus of the son with the mother. At any rate there can be little doubt that we shall be right in assuming that the attack of the hero on the monster, which we noticed as a frequently recurring feature in the history of our polyphallic figures, is in general to be interpreted in this twofold way, which Reik has shown to hold good in the case of Œdipus and the Sphinx.

The further characteristic of the polyphallic monster that it serves as a *guardian* is also one that it has in common with the Sphinx, which often plays the part of a watcher before a temple or a palace. In their masculine aspect, the Sphinx and our polyphallic monsters are here playing a rôle that is frequently allotted to the dragon, which acts as guard to some treasure—either material treasure (usually hidden in the earth—mother symbol), or sexual treasure in the shape of some beautiful maiden (mother-substitute), and which must be slain by the hero before he can obtain possession of the treasure: i.e. the dragon is a symbol of the father who stands between the son and the mother. The characteristic of being a guardian of this kind is however quite probably overdetermined in the same way as we have seen that the combat between hero and monster is overdetermined, i.e. there are certain mother elements in the monster which also find expression in the act of guarding. As Freud has pointed out in his recent article on the infantile genital organization,[17] the importance attached by the young boy to the penis is such that it is difficult for him to conceive of a loved or respected human being without that organ. Consequently, when, as so often happens, he tends somewhat later in life, to divide women into two classes —the despised but sexually approachable on the one hand and the respected but sexually unapproachable (those to whom the incest taboo still applies) upon the other—the notion of the 'woman with the penis' is apt to be held in relation to the latter class more strongly than in relation to the former. Hence the possession of a penis may come to be a sign of sexual unapproachability; the penis guards the woman who possesses it from sexual attack. 'Thus Athene, who wears the Medusa head upon her armour, becomes through this

[17] See p. 128 of this JOURNAL.

very fact the unapproachable woman [i.e. mother], the sight of whom extinguishes every idea of sexual intimacy.'

A further determinant of the idea of guarding the treasure is probably connected with a view according to which the hymen is looked upon as the guardian of virginity, a guardian which has of course to be overcome before sexual connection can take place. From this point of view defloration, involving as it does the destruction of an organ, may be regarded as a symbolic castration (hymen= penis) and this in turn may give rise to a desire for revenge on the part of the woman—a circumstance which makes the first act of coitus a dangerous adventure for the man. This in turn links on to the whole complex series of motives which have been studied by Freud in his paper on 'The Taboo of Virginity'.[18]

The chief respect in which the case of our polyphallic monsters is more complicated than that of the Sphinx is, as might be expected, in relation to the greater emphasis laid on the idea of castration. It is true that the castration of the father is very commonly found as an expression of the Œdipus complex, and it is doubtless correct to assume that this tendency can account for the element of castration in so far as the monster is a father symbol. In this capacity the monster is castrated, because the myth expresses the desire of the son to castrate the father. It can also account for the cases where the son is castrated by the monster, for a retaliation on the part of the father is of course also very common; this solution is indeed very plain in the case of Prometheus, who is clearly punished by castration (if, as we argued above, we are right in regarding his punishment as a castration) because of his symbolical castration of his father (stealing the fire from heaven). There remains the question whether we are justified in regarding this castration of the father (or, by retaliation, of the son) as the sole determinant of the castration elements in the stories of our monsters, i.e. whether it is only as males that they are castrated (or in turn castrate). It may be that this solution is sufficient, and if we accept it, we can certainly avoid certain difficulties of interpretation. But the decapitation of Medusa and the preliminary robbing of the tooth and eye from the Grææ certainly present the appearance of castrations carried out on women (the mother). And this agrees with the fact that, as became evident in dealing with our patients' dreams and

[18] *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, IV, p. 227.

phantasies, polyphallic symbolism seems to have more meaning in connection with the mother than the father. It is, as we have seen, the sight of the penis-lacking female genitalia that excites or reinforces the fear of castration, just because it is supposed that the penis has here been cut off. The idea of the castration of the female is therefore one that is very easily arrived at; and once aroused, there seems no reason why this idea should not become linked up with that other frequently recurring feature of infantile mental life, the sadistic conception of coitus. Granted that there is clear evidence of two acts of violence being practised on the mother—castration and coitus—it is easy to fuse the two into one and to imagine that coitus in some way involves castration of the woman. Such a fusion of ideas had actually taken place in one of the patients (our Case A) whose phantasies (concerning the snake-like Medusa hair of her mother) were referred to at the beginning of this paper. This patient suffered from a powerful fear of coitus, which seemed to her likely to cause severe injury and acute pain, this fear being, as the analysis plainly showed, closely related to her castration complex.

In view of this easily formed association between the supposed castration of the mother and (sadistically conceived) coitus, it would not be surprising if our mythological examples were to show traces of the idea of the castration of the mother by the son. It seems, therefore, very probable that the cases of Medusa and the Grææ actually give expression to this idea and that it may play a part as an overdetermining factor in some other cases where the female aspect of the monster is well marked.

There is one way in which it is possible to carry out a fairly satisfactory (displaced) castration of the female, which, though not occurring in the mythological material we have considered, is perhaps worth mentioning here; that is, by cutting off the breasts. The breasts constitute an outstanding and vulnerable part of the female reproductive anatomy, corresponding in these two respects to the penis of the male. We know, moreover, that the penis and the breast are often unconsciously identified and that the breast is already for other reasons frequently associated with the earliest development of the castration complex.[19] One of the patients from whom I have quoted (Case C) at a very early age conceived the idea of

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[19] Stärcke: 'The Castration Complex,' INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, 1921, II, pp. 179 ff.

cutting off the breasts of a girl or woman and wondered what effect this would have upon her, the problem being clearly conceived as analogous to that connected with the removal of the penis in the male, i.e. 'If the removal of the penis makes a man=a woman, then the removal of the breasts makes a woman= ?' [20]

Cutting off the breasts is not unknown as a punishment inflicted on women captives in much the same way as the removal of the penis or its symbolical equivalent is practised upon men,[21] and it seems not improbable that the Amazons by the removal of one breast intended to symbolize their renunciation of the characterisitc sex life of the female, just as a man will give force to a vow to abjure the masculine sex life by the self-infliction of a real or symbolical castration.

A further motive for the cutting off of the mother's breast by the son may possibly come into being by way of the talion punishment. If one of the earliest losses experienced by the child is the loss of the mother's nipple when this is removed, a loss which occasions grief and anger to the child, it seems not unnatural that the child should wish to revenge himself upon the mother, who by the removal of her nipple caused this loss, and what form of punishment could be more appropriate than causing her to lose the very organ which she then withheld from him? I have not myself as yet discovered evidence for the existence of this factor, and against the probability of its operation must be counted the fact that at the very early age at which the loss of the breast is experienced, the infant is scarcely as yet in a position to associate it closely with the mother as a personality. On the other hand, such traces of this association as may be formed in the first months of life may well be reinforced

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[20] In this patient there is some evidence to show that an important motive underlying the idea of the castration of the mother is the desire to prevent her giving birth to further children, thus preserving him from the much-feared rivalry of younger brothers and sisters. It is possible that this may be an important additional motive for mother castration. But I am not as yet in a position to say how widespread or how primitive this motive is; very possibly it is sometimes only a rationalization to cover the more primitive sadistic trends.

[21] Eulenburg: *Sadismus und Masochismus*; *Grenzfragen des Nerven und Seelenlebens*, Heft 19, 1902, pp. 171 ff. Sadger: *Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen*, 1921, pp. 461 ff.

by the association between the mother and another kind of loss—the loss of fæces; a loss which would also tend to motivate a talion punishment, the removal of one valuable part of the body for another. We may recall too in this connection that Stärcke has already drawn attention to another possible connection between the breast and the sadistic impulse (a connection which, he tells us, he has definitely confirmed in one case) in the fact that the infant in the moment of its keenest enjoyment may cause pain to its mother should the latter suffer from cracked nipples.[22]

Finally we may in passing suggest here that the fact that there are two (and occasionally more) breasts in women, and numerous breasts in certain other common mammals, may, by means of the unconscious identification of breast and penis, have played a part in the origin and formation of polyphallic symbolism itself.

IV

In my own analytic experience, the association of the castration complex with the mother has seemed to be intimately connected with the idea of *birth*, this being in harmony with Stärcke's contention that the earliest of all experiences which subsequently become incorporated in the castration complex is that of the loss of the protecting environment afforded by the mother in pre-natal life.[23] Thus Case B, at about the same time he was having the dreams we have already recounted, had a vivid dream of a cow giving birth to a calf, the latter being still attached to its mother. From the other details and circumstances of the dream and from the subsequent analysis (all of which it would take too long to deal with here) it became evident that the birth portrayed in the dream represented the patient's own birth, the cow being the patient's mother. The birth process in the dream is a condensed product, signifying: (*a*) the actual process of birth, (*b*) the process of castration associated or identified therewith, (*c*) coitus with the mother in virtue of the unconscious equation birth=coitus (cf. the confinement in *Dream I* of the same patient already described). Similarly, the calf being still attached to the mother signifies: (*a*) that the separation from the mother is not complete, that castration in the sense of this separation has not taken place, (*b*) that the patient is attached to the

[22] loc. cit. p. 197.

[23] loc. cit. p. 201.

mother through the penis, i.e. is having coitus with her, (*c*) that he is still (metaphorically) ' attached ' to her in the sense of still entertaining the warm feelings for her which he felt towards her—his first love object—when he was a child (cf. the item of ' the baby being dead through the mother's fault ' in the above-mentioned *Dream 1*).

My most striking evidence for the connection between birth and castration comes however from Case A. This patient had not only (as we have seen) a fear of the injury and pain that might be entailed by coitus, but a still more lively fear of childbirth, which process, as the analysis progressed, assumed in the patient's imagination an ever greater resemblance to castration. She was very far from taking the view that the child which the mother bears is a satisfactory substitute for the penis—a view which, it has been suggested, corresponds to the most ' normal ' solution of the female castration complex. For her, the act of childbirth was an indignity, comparable to a fresh castration ; through it the mother was deprived of her child, just as she had formerly *ex hypothesi* been deprived of her penis. According to this attitude, childbirth represents a castration of the mother. But, as we have seen, it may also represent a castration of the child, and this view was held too by the patient, who eventually came to regard her own supposed castration as dating from her birth and inevitably produced by that event ; nothing but a process of reunion with her mother could make good the damage that was then done. From this point of view, she was herself her mother's severed penis ; an idea which gave rise to a number of highly involved and conflicting relationships, since she was at once the very member which she most desired (the penis) and at the same time was castrated (separated from the mother) ; she also desired most intensely the very process (reunion with the mother) which, as we saw before in dealing with her Medusa-hair phantasy, she most detested, i.e. contact with her mother, especially her mother's hair, the penis symbol and (through its polyphallic associations) also the castration symbol. This case is, moreover, of special interest to us here because of the close relationship which it brought to light between the birth-castration ideas and the polyphallic symbolism. It is perhaps worth while to analyse the dream in which this relationship first became clearly apparent, as at the same time this dream serves to illustrate some of the less obvious forms in which polyphallic symbolism may sometimes be encountered. The patient dreamt:

'I was in church at home. Sitting near me were three B's and five C's. (The B's and C's were families known to the patient when she was a girl.) This astonished me, as there are in reality only two B's and three C's. The C's were all dressed alike in blue dresses that made their hair look silvery.' The C's of the dream, to whom the patient first turned her attention in the analysis, proved to be merely a multiplication of the patient's self. The blue dress which they all wore was one which belonged to the patient and which became her well. The choice of the C's was probably determined by the fact that one of the C girls was loved by a young man whom the patient much admired. The blue of this dress made her think of a certain book with a *blue* cover on which was a *silver five-pointed* star. In this book was a story which had at one time considerably impressed the patient. So far as she could remember it, it dealt with a young girl who, by means of a magic ball and cord, could always get into touch with her grandmother—a grandmother who in some way was at times young and beautiful. The silver, further, made her think of a starfish, whose limbs, she remembered having been told, could be *regenerated* if *cut off* (our old theme of the regrowth of the penis). The grandmother episode in the story then brought up the whole train of ideas mentioned above, concerning the patient herself having been cut off from her mother at birth and the equivalence of birth and castration. The cord in the story she now likened to the umbilical cord. Being *in church*, as might be imagined, was also a symbol of close union with the *mother*. The *three B's* referred first of all to the male genital, secondly to the Holy Trinity—the triune God—about the more precise nature of whom the patient had exercised much thought at an earlier period. The Trinity were three persons in one; if the patient and her sister had never been born, the two girls and her mother would have been one, just like the Trinity (she was at the time rather worrying about an estrangement between herself and her sister). Thus the dream, when analysed, quite clearly reveals the connection between the castration complex and desire for reunion with the mother, while polyphallic symbolism is manifested: (*a*) in the reference to the five-pointed star, (*b*) in the increase in the number of B's and C's (this was quite clear from the associations, although the actual extent to which the number were increased was, as we have seen, determined by other considerations), (*c*) in the reference to the Trinity, with its close association with the male genitals. The three

B's and five C's may therefore be regarded as overdetermined polyphallic symbols.

The desire for reunion with the mother in connection with polyphallic symbolism is also clearly revealed in a short dream which immediately followed the one we have just recounted. In this dream the patient saw a lot of children going through the street and was vaguely conscious that they would in some way come to harm. The associations immediately led to the Pied Piper of Hamelin. The children disappearing into the earth were the penes going to rejoin the mother; this (she maintained) being rendered quite clear by the fact that on the first occasion of the piper's playing, it is the rats (phallic symbols) that vanish into the water (equally with earth, a mother symbol). There is only one lame boy left outside, i.e. to be separated from the mother is to be castrated (lameness here, as so often,=castration).

One more production of this patient may be quoted—this time a waking phantasy. In this phantasy she saw a number of 'mothers', whose bodies were covered with large projecting penes, one penis corresponding to each child to which they had given birth. From these penes in some cases there budded out smaller penes of the second order, corresponding to the mother's grandchildren. The patient's own mother was seen to have a number of primary and secondary penes corresponding to her children and her grandchildren respectively.[24]

This phantasy gives expression, with all desirable clearness, to the relation between polyphallic symbolism and the wish for union with the mother (i.e. the connection of castration with birth) which is adumbrated in the two previous dreams.

This association between birth and castration, which is so clearly indicated by the analysis of our patients, also finds expression in the story of Medusa. For we are told that Medusa's two children, Chrysaor and Pegasus, sprang from her head at the moment when this was cut off by Perseus. Nor is there lacking here a trace of the identification of child and penis which played such a striking part in our Case A, for Pegasus is, as we have already seen, primarily a phallic symbol, while the name of the other child Chrysaor, 'golden

[24] One is naturally tempted to compare these phantastic penis-bedecked 'mothers' with Diana of the Ephesians to whom we alluded before and whose body is often represented as covered with breasts.

sword', seems to indicate that very probably he too was not devoid of phallic significance (little is recorded of him beyond the facts shown in our genealogical tree). This circumstance is calculated to arouse the suspicion that it may not be altogether due to chance that so many of the polyphallic personages of classical antiquity are members of one family. May it be that the creation of the strange family of the Phorcidæ is due to the operation of psychological factors similar to those which find expression in the last-mentioned phantasy of our patient?

Lorenz in his above-quoted paper on the Titans reports several cases in which the birth process seems to be equated to a process of castration of the mother at the hands of her son. Thus in the mythology of the Yoruba of the African Slave Coast, Obatala, their chief god, is in the beginning imprisoned with his mother Odudua inside a big calabash. Mother and son begin to fight (sadistic conception of coitus). In his rage Obatala pulls out both his mother's eyes (castration symbol). The upper and lower parts of the calabash separate to form heaven and earth (cosmogenic birth symbol). In a later generation of the same line of gods, a son god endeavours to rape his mother. As a consequence the latter's body bursts asunder, giving rise to fifteen new gods,[25] a cosmogenic myth which is parallel to the Babylonian version of the splitting of the primeval dragon Tiamat by the hero Marduk and to a number of other stories of creation. A Zulu myth is even clearer in this matter of castration. A cannibalistic mother who has devoured her children meets a bird which grows bigger and bigger (probably a symbol of the penis undergoing erection) and which finally seizes her axe, lops off her arms and legs, and cuts open her belly, thus setting free her children.[26] Indeed, it is fairly clear that many of the stories in which the hero is swallowed by a (sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile) monster and eventually cuts his way out, are not altogether unconnected with the notion of mother-castration. In the Zulu myth, however, the gratuitous hacking off of the mother's arms and legs seems to point quite plainly in this direction. Very probably a similar tendency underlies the custom of 'sawing the old woman'—a Lenten ceremony performed in various parts of Europe, in which the effigy of an old woman is sawn in two to celebrate the coming of spring. The old woman is sometimes provided with seven legs (polyphallic sym-

[25] loc. cit. p. 31.

[26] loc. cit. p. 39.

bols), one of which is cut off at the end of every week in Lent.[27]

The association of birth and castration is however not confined to the mother and the child. For a variety of reasons, into which it is not possible to enter fully here (e.g. the father's fear of castration at the hands of his son, the desire of the male to create independently of the female, punishment for previously committed incest), the birth is sometimes represented as closely connected with the castration of the father. Thus, according to Hesiod, Aphrodite is born from the severed phallas of Kronos thrown into the sea; thus also the Babylonian Bel fructifies the world by voluntarily having his head cut off. There is probably a similar meaning behind the story of Athene springing from the head of Zeus; these two latter stories reminding us forcibly of the birth of Medusa's children at the moment of her decapitation.

V

This rather lengthy discussion of the relation between castration and birth arose out of the question as to whether the castration of our polyphallic monsters represented in any sense a castration of the mother as well as the father. We had previously considered grounds for answering this question in the affirmative, first because of the association between the assumed castration of the mother and the sadistic conception of coitus, secondly because of the child's attitude towards the mother's breasts. We have now secured further reasons for an affirmative answer by a consideration of certain evidence connecting castration and birth. This evidence, so far as the material we have reviewed in this paper is concerned, is the most striking and convincing of all, though it suffers to some extent from that difficulty of interpretation that attends all unconscious ideas concerning birth.[28] If I have dealt with this evidence at somewhat disproportionate length, my excuse must be that it is of considerable importance on its own account, and that it has served to bring out certain interesting sidelights on the nature and function of polyphallic symbolism itself.

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[27] Sir J. G. Frazer: *The Dying God*, pp. 240 ff.

[28] For a discussion of the problems connected with birth phantasies see Chapter VIII of *The Psycho-Analytic Study of the Family*, by the present author.

There still remain for consideration two of the questions on p. 172, the meaning of those cases where the polyphallic monster is the attacker instead of, as is more usually the case, the attacked; and the significance of the scoptophilic elements in the Medusa story.

As regards the first of these questions, it is necessary to distinguish again between the male and female aspects of the monster. As male the monster represents the father who kills or castrates his son, usually as a talion punishment for the attempted or anticipated attack of the son upon the father. The only representation of this type among the Phorcidæ is the eagle who attacks Prometheus, an attack which, as we have already seen, represents a castration of Prometheus as a punishment for the latter's attack upon the father. The attack of the monster as female presents rather greater difficulties of interpretation. Its psychological basis would seem to lie in certain heterosexual hate-tendencies which have not as yet been fully explored by psycho-analysts.[29] The man's fear of a terrible female monster which seems to find expression in stories of this character probably to some extent represents a projection of the man's own repressed sexual desire for the woman. 'The woman tempted me' has been the perennial excuse of man for the overstepping of a sexual prohibition, though it has often been recognized that this excuse is for the most part only a device on the part of the man for putting on to his partner the burden of his own guilty conscience. The man's own feared desire to commit a sexual attack upon the woman, when projected, leads to the notion of the woman making a sexual attack upon the man. When the repression is strong, there may arise a powerful fear or loathing of the man's own repressed sexuality, and when this too is projected, we get the creation of a phantastic picture of the woman as a terrible or loathsome monster.

It is possible that this process of projection may be an additional reason for the attribution of a penis to the woman, and may even sometimes be intimately connected with polyphallism. The penis is the organ in which occurs the most striking manifestations of the man's own sexual desires, and when these are projected on to the woman, it is not unnatural that this organ should be projected too. The attitude of sexual repression makes the penis appear a disgust-

[29] Though to a considerable extent they are accounted for by the factors brought to light in Freud's above-mentioned paper on the Taboo of Virginity.

ing object and in this attitude disgust is still more strongly stimulated by polyphallic attributes, these making the monster appear grossly oversexed—' all penis ', as one of my patients put it. Hence there is a peculiar appropriateness in the woman, looked at from this point of view, being endowed with a plurality of phallic objects. The ambivalent nature of the man's sentiment towards the woman in these circumstances is clearly revealed in the transformations undergone by the corresponding mythological figures. Medusa and Scylla were both beautiful maidens before their transformation into dangerous and terrifying monsters. The Sirens and the Loreley, though dangerous, are still beautiful. Sometimes beauty and ugliness are attributed to different individuals of the same species, as in the case of the mermaids,[30] or water *manas* of Guiana, ' some [of whom] are related to be extremely beautiful and possessing long golden hair, like the Loreley, and whoever casts his eye on them [cf. Medusa] is seized with madness, jumps into the deep water and never returns. Others are hideous, snakes being twined round them and with their long white talons [note the polyphallic symbolism] they drag boats under the surface and devour their occupants '.[31] In other cases again, the attractive and repulsive aspects are still further separated, the repulsive polyphallic attributes appearing merely in the environment of the otherwise attractive woman, as in the traditional conception of the temptation of St. Anthony.[32] Even where the repression has succeeded in turning the originally attractive woman into a terrible or loathsome monster, there often takes place a subsequent ' return of the repressed ' in virtue of which she regains her beauty, attractiveness or kindliness. Thus Reik

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[30] Rank (*Psychoanalytische Beitrage zur Mythenforschung*, pp. 239 ff.) has already shown that the fishy tail of mermaids, like the tails of (female) dragons, are phallic symbols, pointing to the operation of the idea of the woman with the penis in connection with these figures.

[31] E. S. Hartland : *The Legend of Perseus*, III, p. 83. The whole chapter deserves reading in connection with the present subject.

[32] Though here, as in certain other cases, the polyphallic attributes may, in virtue of a ' return of the repressed ' increase rather than diminish the attraction :—(*a*) by the operation of ' contrast ' in the place of ' confluence ' (the repellent polyphallism serving by contrast to enhance the woman's beauty instead of making her repellent through association with itself) ; (*b*) by a partial breaking through once more of the pleasurable sexual feelings primitively aroused by contemplation of the phallus.

has shown that in course of time the Sphinx tended to lose her male attributes and to assume a more gracious feminine aspect.[33] The same thing, as has been noted by several authors,[34] happened in the case of Medusa. The terrifying and repulsive representations of the Medusa head common in earlier times gave place to sculptures of refined beauty. Similarly, in folklore the originally mischievous monster sometimes later on becomes amiable and helpful.[35]

The fear of sexual attack from a woman is often reinforced by the existence of (feared) repressed tendencies of a homosexual nature, of a kind to which we referred when dealing with Reik's explanation of the Sphinx. The passive homosexual feelings of the boy towards his father contribute to the desire for a woman with a penis. The woman, as a terrifying and aggressive monster, is an appropriate object to call up any existing traces of this passive homosexuality, for her presence introduces a situation in which this homosexuality would find gratification. The fear of these repressed components of the libido therefore add to the terror occasioned on other grounds by the aggression of the female monster.

Another important psychological component of the myth of the aggressive female monster comes from the female rather than the male side. As Abraham has shown,[36] one of the ways in which the female castration complex may manifest itself is by creating in the woman a desire for revenge upon the man, this revenge again often taking on the form of a talion punishment or castration of the man. The classical instances here are, of course, the cases of Delilah and Salome. A striking mythological example of castration practised by a woman on a large scale is afforded by the bloodthirsty Indian goddess Kali, who wears as a girdle the severed hands of those she has murdered[37]; polyphallic symbolism and castration being here once more brought together. Among the mythological figures we have considered here, Echidna carries out what is probably a symbolic castration of Heracles by robbing him of his horses and compelling

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[33] loc. cit. p. 189.

[34] e.g. M. Collignon: *Manual of Mythology*, trans. by Jane Harrison, p. 327.

[35] *Vide* E. S. Hartland, op. cit. pp. 6–7.

[36] 'Manifestations of the Female Castration Complex,' INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, 1922, III, pp. 16 ff.

[37] G. Elliott Smith: *The Evolution of the Dragon*, p. 172.

him to abandon his heroic adventures for a time until she consented to return them to him. The case of Scylla is of even greater interest. The perilous passage between Scylla and Charybdis, like the equally perilous passage of the Symplegades, is clearly a portrayal of the dangers encountered by the penis on its entry into the vagina (though doubtless it refers also to the process of birth, this being another case of the rather numerous phantasies in which the processes of birth and coitus are identified). A woman, whose castration complex is of the revenge type,[38] will sometimes indulge in the phantasy of retaining the penis when it is inserted into the vagina, this being one of the determinants of 'vaginismus'. In coitus, therefore, the man risks the danger of castration; the penis may be crushed or retained between the walls of the vagina. The journey of the Argonauts through the Symplegades, in which first a dove (phallic symbol) and then the ship itself narrowly escape destruction, and even so escape only with the loss of certain small parts, is a vivid portrayal of the dangers so incurred.

Our answer to the final question, that concerning the scoptophilic elements in the Medusa story, must, as already indicated, be brief; since a full treatment of this question would lead us too far away from our main topic. Curiosity concerning the female genitalia is well known by analysts to be intimately connected with the castration complex (it is clearly marked in the extracts from the two male cases given in the first section of this paper), so that the occurrence of scoptophilic elements in this story is not in any way astonishing; it is perhaps, if anything, rather a matter for surprise that these elements do not occur more prominently in other cases of polyphallic symbolism. The boy wishes to see the female genitalia, but as soon as he succeeds in so doing, is horrified by the absence of the penis.[39]

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[38] Abraham, loc. cit.

[39] Often, as we saw in our own Case C above, he refuses to believe the evidence of his senses, and continues to harbour the notion of a female penis. In certain cases the unwillingness to recognize the absence of the penis may give rise to a search or quest for the missing member, as in an Armenian tale of the three-brothers type in which the youngest son succeeds in the quest of a wonderful nightingale which was 'the only thing wanting to complete the beauty of a church' built by his father, this son afterwards marrying the fairy to whom the nightingale belonged (mother with the penis). Hartland, op. cit. III., p. 101.

Hence the female genitalia become in themselves a terrifying and disgusting sight, just as wounds, mutilations or other bodily injuries become terrifying and disgusting in later life (partly, as we know, because of their unconscious arousal of the castration complex). Medusa's severed head crowned with serpents is, as we are now in a position to appreciate, a most exquisite symbol of the supposedly castrated female genitalia and therefore causes terror to the beholder, turning him to stone (incapacity for movement as an instinctive result of fear).[40]

The murderous glance of Medusa here seems to have its original and primitive meaning, but just as in Medusa herself the absence of the penis has in certain respects been converted into its opposite, so also the glance may acquire an opposite meaning. The eye is well known as a phallic symbol, and Abraham has recently shown that a 'fixed stare' in women may have the meaning of an erect penis,[41] the stare in this case being intended to show that they possess a penis, just as, in many cases of male exhibitionism, the penis is shown to passers-by for the same reason. It has been remarked by students of the Medusa myth that the murderous effect of Medusa's head upon those who look upon it is only a particular instance of the widespread belief of the evil eye.[42] Now, in view of the fact that nearly all the most potent amulets to ward off this influence are phallic symbols, it is clear (and indeed the work of Ernest Jones has already demonstrated [43]) that the principal and original injury that is feared from the evil eye is itself castration. In many cases, moreover, safety is sought by means of polyphallic symbols, as in the amulets [44] in which the eye is surrounded by a whole ring of phallic symbols, as in the Woburn Marbles,[45] in which they are grouped

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[40] There appears to be a specially intimate connection between scoptophilia (and exhibitionism) and the inhibition of movements; a connection which affords the psychological foundation for this part of the story. But it would take us too far afield to enter fully into this aspect of the Medusa problem.

[41] loc. cit. pp. 13, 14.

[42] e.g. Hartland, op. cit. III, p. 146.

[43] *Der Alptraum in seiner Beziehung zu gewissen Formen des mittelalterlichen Aberglaubens*, pp. 106 ff.

[44] Pictured in F. T. Elsworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 131.

[45] op. cit. p. 137.

underneath the eye. A similar use of polyphallic symbolism is implied in the gesture known as ' Five in your eye ' or vulgarly in England ' cocking a snook '. The Medusa head itself is indeed often used as an amulet,[46] this last fact being a clear case of ' representation through the opposite ' ; the very thing which at one level or at one stage of development implies castration, at another level is the means of avoiding castration.

There are, of course, additional and complicating factors at work here, though it is sufficient for our present purpose just to call attention to the nature of two of them. One is the fear of the arousal of the male passive homosexual tendencies to which we alluded just now: the other the fear of punishment (again usually castration) because of the infringement of some sexual taboo, as is shown by the fact that in some stories petrifaction will occur as the result of looking at a sister (incest) [47] ; in other cases as a result of looking at oneself (narcissism).[48]

VI

We have now carried out, as far as has here been possible, the first and by far the longest of the three tasks mentioned at the beginning of Section II. As was mentioned there, we can only allude briefly to the other two in conclusion.

With regard to the second problem, that of the dynamic relations and functions of polyphallic symbolism, we are now, as we anticipated, in a better position for attempting its solution than before the treatment of the mythological material. The problem may be briefly stated thus : Why are polyphallic symbols used to indicate the absence of the penis, and the castration that is implied by this absence ? The facts and considerations we have passed in review here, I think, made it very probable that the use of polyphallic symbols is not sufficiently explained by saying that it comes about simply as a consequence of a resort to the well-known device of ' representation through the opposite ' in obedience to the commands of the censor, or as a result of a return to a primitive mental level such as is involved in all use of symbolism. On the contrary, it would seem rather that ' the representation through the opposite ' occurs, in this case at least, in order that a wish may be fulfilled. When for the absence

[46] op. cit. pp. 158 ff.
[47] Hartland, op. cit. III, 134, 145.
[48] op. cit. III, 103.

of the penis there is substituted a plurality of phallic objects, it is as if the patient or myth-maker assured himself with the thought: 'No, so far from the penis being absent, there are, on the contrary, signs of the greatest phallic power.' The notion of polyphallism would seem thus to be a compensation or corrective for the fear of castration. This is, I think, clearly seen in Dr. Flournoy's case, with which we started our exposition. The polyphallic symbols which appeared immediately after waking, were preceded in the dream by the idea that the patient possessed an enormous penis of immense power, a power corrective of the actual state of things in the (impotent) patient. Similarly, to pass from the first to the last example we considered, the use of polyphallic symbolism in amulets designed to protect from the influence of the evil eye, points to the same conclusion. It is as if the wearer of such amulets assured himself 'The evil influences cannot harm me. Look, I have a multitude of phalli!'

The use of polyphallic symbolism may thus be considered to result from a process of wish-fulfilment—it expresses the very opposite of what is feared, thus serving to alter or dissipate the fear.[49] It may, as we have seen, apply either to the self or the mother; as a rule, however, the supposed castration of the mother is intimately associated with the feared (in the case of the boy) or supposed (in the case of the girl) castration of the self, so that psychologically it is difficult or impossible to separate one case from the other. If the mother's penis has been cut off, there is no reason why the same fate should not befall the son's. If, however, the son can persuade himself that the apparent absence of the penis in the mother (and therefore ultimately in all women) is a mistake, the fear of castration in himself also becomes diminished. At the same time the value of the mother is itself increased, since the suspicion that she is without one of the most highly prized organs of the body (as the penis is regarded in the stage of 'the primacy of the phallus' according to Freud [50]) is proved to be groundless. This in itself serves two purposes: at a primitive level, it increases the attractiveness of the mother by facilitating the transfer to her of narcissistic and homosexual

[49] A similar purpose is of course served by the idea of the regrowth or regeneration of the phallus, which we have encountered in connection with polyphallic symbolism.

[50] See p. 127 of this JOURNAL.

libido; at a later stage, it serves the purpose of incest prohibition; the idea of the mother possessing a penis tending to make her sexually unapproachable (cf. p. 174).

This leads us to what seems to be the second and opposite function of polyphallic symbolism. As a projection of the male sexual desires (when these desires are inhibited) this symbolism serves to inspire disgust of the object which exhibits it. From being beautiful and desirable, Medusa becomes dangerous and revolting. It is probably significant in this connection that, according to the myth, her transformation dates from the commission of a sexual offence—an offence that is symbolically equivalent to incest, i.e. sexual intercourse within the temple of Athena (the same goddess who afterwards wears Medusa's head upon her shield and who is therefore in some respects identified with Medusa). The punishment of Medusa by transformation is reminiscent of the punishment of the god Indra, who, as the result of a sexual transgression, had his whole body covered with vulvæ, a punishment which was afterwards mitigated in so far as the vulvæ were turned into eyes.[51] Here too the psychological appeal to a higher mental level is reflected through the arousal of disgust in place of sexual attraction, while at bottom both punishments owe their efficacy to their connection with the castration complex.

VII

If we are satisfied that these are the principal functions of polyphallic symbolism, there still remains one further allied question, which may be referred to in passing. Just as in the analysis of dreams, we distinguish between the wishes and tendencies satisfied by the dream and the material of which use is made in the manifest content (memories and sensory stimuli occurring during sleep) so too, in the analysis of a single piece of symbolism, it is desirable to know not only what are the functions of the symbol, but also how the cognitive content of the symbol comes to be available. In the present case, now that we have seen something of the way in which the mind uses the idea of a plurality of phalli or of phallic objects we should like to know how the mind comes into possession of the idea itself.

Unfortunately it does not seem possible to answer this question with any high degree of certainty. Perhaps, indeed, the question

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[51] Quoted by Flournoy (from Jung), loc. cit. p. 241.

does not need any special answer, in the sense that the idea of many phalli spontaneously arose as the most emphatic logical 'contrary' of the painful idea of the absence of the phallus (though an exceptionally large and powerful phallus would seem a more natural form for such a 'contrary' to take).[52] It seems more probable, however, that the impression of some external object may have played a part in the development of the idea, especially if that object was of such a kind as to be already employed as a phallic symbol. The analytic material which we have passed in review suggests two such objects, namely, the *breasts* and *children*. Both of these are frequently recurring phallic symbols and both of them are, or may be, possessed in the plural number by a single individual. Among other objects suggested by psycho-analytic work are: the *spider*, which has recently been shown to be a symbol of the mother's genitalia with special reference to the possession of a penis, and to castration[53]; the *fingers*, which are, of course, frequent phallic symbols and which are generally used at an early stage of development as auto-erotic substitutes for the mother's breast; the *udders* of the cow, which also, at a later stage, become associated with the breast and which at the same time present a striking resemblance to the penis; the *teeth*, which are sometimes phallic symbols and are also symbols for children.

A further source of the idea of polyphallism arises from the form of the *external male genitals* themselves. If we regard the two testicles as shortened or flattened phalli, it becomes easy to consider that the male in reality possesses three penes. That this identification of the testicles with the penis has really to some extent taken place is indicated by the fact that in many of the triform symbolic representations of the male genitals, the difference between the penis and the testicles

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[52] At a meeting at which this paper was read Dr. Edward Glover reported a case in which the presence in phantasy of a number of penes was definitely regarded as a 'multiplicand', in the sense that if, for example, there were five penes, this indicated that the patient's own penis was five times its actual or previous size. It would seem possible that such a relation between number and size is implicit in many cases where polyphallic symbolism is used; a possibility which suggests an interesting general psychological problem as to the cognitive and affective relations between the concepts of number and size.

[53] Abraham: 'The Spider as Dream Symbol,' INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, Vol. IV, p. 313.

has disappeared, as in the case of the triskele, the trident, etc. Even in what are obviously direct imitations of the genitals, there is a tendency for the representation to be made by the use of three similar or nearly similar objects. Sometimes, moreover, there is a tendency to continue this series of objects further round the loins in either direction,[54] so that the three original genital objects are supplemented by a further number of similar or nearly similar objects. From this it is but a very small step to the use of polyphallic symbolism, and on the whole it seems probable that this may have been the most common method by which such symbolism has been introduced.

The question of the possession of polyphallic attributes by a mother goddess has been discussed at some length by Prof. Elliott Smith in his treatise on the 'Evolution of the Dragon' (cf. Chap. 3). In his opinion (and he adduces a good deal of evidence in favour of his view) the cowry and the pearl were originally symbols of the vulva and were widely worn and much treasured for their powers of conferring fertility. The properties of the cowry and pearl were transferred to the mandrake and the Red Sea spider shell *Pterocera Bryonia*, 'the mantle of which expands into a series of long finger-like processes or claws, there being seven of these claws in all as well as the long columella'. In the Mediterranean where the *Pterocera* is not found, a substitute was discovered in the Octopus, and in this form the Great Mother appears to have travelled extensively throughout the world. At any rate, representations of a goddess in Octopus form are found in Eastern Asia, Oceania and Central America. This theory is of considerable interest to us here because it postulates a development from a simple vulva symbol to one which replaces the vulva by polyphallic attributes, in the same way that the psychological evidence points to polyphallism being a substitute for the vulva, when the sight of the latter had become distasteful owing to its association with the ideas of castration.[55]

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[54] See, for instance, the illustrations of the carvings from Central America contained in Figs. 19 and 20 of Elliott Smith's 'Evolution of the Dragon.'

[55] One item of Prof. Elliott Smith's evidence is particularly suggestive in this respect. 'In the Polynesian Rata-myth,' he tells us, 'there is a very instructive series of manifestations of the dragon. The first form assumed by the monster in this story was a gaping shell fish of enormous size [vulva], then it appeared as a mighty octopus [polyphallism]; and

The correspondence in the sequence of events as reconstructed by the quite distinct methods of psycho-analysis and ethnology is not without impressiveness and is calculated to increase our faith in both reconstructions. It seems very possible then that the *Pterocera* and the Octopus may in reality have played some part in determining the use of polyphallic symbolism for the vivid portrayal of the logical 'contrary' of the absent penis.

VIII

It only remains in conclusion to refer once more to the last of the three problems mentioned in Section II—the question as to whether the tendencies underlying polyphallic symbolism so manifest themselves as to exercise any influence on character of such a kind as to be of general psychological or sociological interest. Unfortunately here too our knowledge at the present moment is insufficient to enable

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lastly, as a whale into whose jaws the hero Nganaoa sprang, as his representatives are said to have done elsewhere throughout the world' [return to the mother (with combined birth and coitus) corresponding to the breaking through once more of the original positive mother-love] (op. cit., p. 172). Another passage from Prof. Elliott Smith's book which deserves quotation in connection with the subject of the present paper is one that has reference to the functions of the polyphallic monster as guardian of treasure (cf. above p. 174). This function he traces to the fact that pearl fishers encounter dangers from sharks, who come to be regarded as the guardians of the pearls. 'When the value of the pearl as the giver of life impelled men to incur any risk to obtain so precious an amulet, the chief dangers that threatened pearl fishers were due to sharks. These come to be regarded as demons guarding the treasure house at the bottom of the sea. Out of these crude materials the imaginations of the early pearl fishers created the picture of wonderful submarine palaces of Nâga kings in which vast wealth, not merely of pearls, but also of gold, precious stones and beautiful maidens (all of them "givers of life") were placed under the protection of shark dragons. The conception of the pearl (which is a surrogate of the life-giving Great Mother) guarded by dragons is linked by many bonds of affinity with early Erythræan and Mediterranean beliefs. The more usual form of the story, both in Southern Arabian legend and in Minoan and Mycenæan art, represents the Mother Goddess incarnate in a sacred tree or pillar with its protecting dragons in the form of serpents or lions, or a variety of dragon surrogates, either real animals, such as deer or cattle or composite monsters' (p. 158).

us to give any very definite answer to this question, and all that we can say about it is to make one or two suggestions which can be indicated in a very few words.

In a recent communication to the British Psycho-Analytical Society Mrs. Susan Isaacs noted a connection of the castration complex with polygamous and promiscuous tendencies in women; a *multiplicity* of lovers being sought as a compensation for the absence of the penis.

In a case which she reported [56] (and which was characterized by a very heavy castration complex) the patient was extremely proud of possessing many lovers, whom she spoke of as 'my men', but at the same time feared to tell their names or introduce them to other women, lest they should be stolen from her. She wanted her mother (to whom she was markedly ambivalent) to know that she (the patient) 'knew everything' and was not a virgin. She rejoiced in the secret knowledge and power which she felt she had acquired through her love affairs [knowledge = sexual intercourse = possessing penes = power] and felt armed against her mother [who was no doubt unconsciously regarded as the author of the castration, as in my own Case A] because of her having had many secret lovers [= possessing many penes and therefore not castrated as she had feared]. She tended to regard the analysis as a surgical operation and the analyst as a dentist and a hostile old woman [mother], who was bent on 'taking something away'. It would seem that such a character trait as was manifested by this patient may be regarded as a case of polyphallic symbolism (many lovers = many phalli).

I have myself encountered one rather similar case in a male patient (not one of the cases quoted above). In men the corresponding wish could, of course, only be gratified in a homosexual way; in this case, however, the original homosexual tendency had been converted into a heterosexual one, by a curious process to which Boehm has already called attention,[57] namely, the development of a special attraction towards prostitutes or other women of promiscuous habits, just because such women come into contact with other men. In virtue of this process the prostitute becomes, so to speak, a bridge by means

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[56] I am much indebted to Mrs. Isaacs for subsequent additional information concerning this case.

[57] Beiträge zur Psychologie der Homosexualität, *Int. Ztschft. f. Psychoanalyse*, 1920, VI, p. 297.

of which it becomes possible to enjoy something in the nature of an indirect homosexual relationship. With this patient the chief attraction of the prostitute was the fact that she had relations with *many* men; he only cared to visit women whom he had proved to his satisfaction to have dealings with a sufficiently *numerous clientèle.* That it was the penis of the men that interested him was indicated by the fact that he habitually made careful inquiries about certain of the articles belonging to the woman's previous visitors; all these articles being phallic symbols—their shoes, hats, ties, tie-pins and the cigarettes they smoked (particularly whether they smoked *many* cigarettes). Unfortunately I was not able to undertake a sufficiently prolonged study of this case, but from the short analysis that it was possible to carry out it became very clear that this behaviour was closely related to the castration complex. By getting (indirectly) into touch with many penes, the patient was obtaining compensation for the supposed inferiority of his own penis (which he fancied to be unusually small) and was fortifying himself against the fear that his penis might be lost. We seem justified then in regarding this patient's behaviour as determined by the same ideas and tendencies that we discovered in the previous cases here considered.

So far, therefore, as it is permissible to draw conclusions of any kind from this very scanty material, it would seem that polyphallic symbolism is not always without influence upon actual sexual conduct and that this influence is of such a kind as to lead to behaviour of a promiscuous or polygamous nature—heterosexual in women, (directly or indirectly) homosexual in men. It is very possible, of course, that there are other influences of a more subtle or less obviously sexual nature which would be revealed by further careful investigation of this subject.

SHORT COMMUNICATIONS

BLUNDERS WITH AN OVER-COMPENSATING TENDENCY

It can be said of all the numerous phenomena described by Freud in his *Psychopathologie des Alltagslebens* that they are antagonistic to the conscious intentions of the person concerned. The tendency running counter to conscious interest takes, however, a different course in various forms of blunders. For instance, it can fall a victim to repression; this happens when we forget words, proper names, etc. In the example 'aliquis' quoted by Freud, forgetting this word prevented certain 'painful' associations from becoming conscious. On the other hand, the effect of mistakes in speaking or writing is different; here the tendency that is disagreeable to consciousness has forced its way in a disturbing manner into the performance that consciousness had in view. Blunders can be divided into two groups according to their effects; namely, those blunders in which the tendency that is diverted from consciousness is neutralized, and those in which it can express itself at least by hints.

For some time now I have occasionally come across blunders during my psycho-analyses which seem to belong to a third variety, not mentioned in the *Psychopathologie des Alltagslebens*. I recently met with a frequently recurring example of this kind in a patient, which is the occasion of this short communication.

The patient, whose articulation is usually quite normal, tends to duplicate the first syllable of proper names by making a slight stutter. This condition troubles her very much and keeps her in a state of anxiety during the time she is teaching in class. She is afraid of being asked to read aloud for fear of coming across a proper name which would stimulate the trouble.

One day she told me of a name she had mispronounced on one of these occasions. The blunder was certainly a mistake in pronouncing a word, but not of the duplicating kind just mentioned. She had altered the Greek name Protagoras into Protragoras.

Her associations very soon led to another mistake in speaking which actually was a duplication of the first syllable, and which had occurred a few moments before the blunder 'Protragoras'. She had said 'A-alexandros' instead of 'Alexandros'. This blunder she voluntarily brought

into connection with an infantile tendency she had indulged in to an unusual degree, namely, that of playing with names or words by distorting them so that they came to sound like the ' indecent ' words in childish language. It is hardly necessary to remind readers that children's words almost always consist of two similar syllables. These words are used for persons, animals, and objects in common use by the child, but more especially for the names of various parts of the body and bodily functions. These latter words often remain in use long after the child has adopted the language of adults and no longer says ' bow-wow ' but ' dog '. My patient tended for a long period to make all possible names imitate the forbidden words, and this applied especially to those names in which the syllables ' a ' or ' po ' occurred.

Freud has already estimated the significance of these kind of tendencies. He finds that this playing with words is also occasionally carried out against the person's will (*Psychopathologie des Alltagslebens*, 7. Aufl., S. 96–97).

The first syllable of the name Protagoras had been changed into the word ' popo ' (' buttocks '), which was hovering in the patient's unconscious, in a simple manner by leaving out the ' r ' and duplicating by a stutter the first syllable of the word. The patient had actually done this kind of thing many times. The variation in the present instance is explained by the affect of anxiety which united with the mistake that had immediately preceded this one. The tendency to express further forbidden words becomes repressed. Instead of the risky leaving out of the ' r ' in the first syllable of ' Protagoras ', an ' r ' is inserted in the second syllable where there should not be one. This blunder thereupon prevents an infantile-sexual tendency from entering the conscious stream of thought. The mechanism made use of, however, is the exact opposite of that which had given rise to the forbidden tendency. The blunder bears the character of over-compensation.

During treatment a few days later the patient in speaking of a death omitted the first ' n ' in the word ' Kondolenzbrief ' (letter of condolence), saying ' Kodolenzbrief ' instead of ' Kondolenzbrief '. This mistake also proved to be one of over-compensation, i.e. for the purpose of avoidance.

The disturbing influence in this instance did not proceed from a word used by children, but from the foreign word ' Kondom ' (condom), which we usually pronounce as though the second syllable ended with a nasal (French) ' n '. After overcoming some resistances the patient brought to light a peculiar association between the words Kondom and Kondolenzbrief. Some time ago a death had occurred in the patient's family, and the relatives had assembled in a room belonging to the patient's brother. The young man had neglected to put away a couple of condoms (Kondoms) which were lying on the table packed up in the form of a *letter*. This

created a painful impression on the condoling (kondolierenden) relatives ! If I mention that the patient for years had envied her brother's masculinity and more recently his sexual freedom, it is not difficult to recognize that an element of infantile sexuality (castration complex) is concealed also in this example. I am unable to give further details for reasons of discretion.

The effect of the blunder is obvious. The disturbing idea ' Kondom ' could have acted quite easily by substituting an ' n ' for the ' l ' in 'Kondolenzbrief ', especially as the first syllable also contained the letters ' on '. The opposite happened, however ; the ' n ' is eliminated from the first syllable. The blunder has, therefore, the same effect of over-compensation as we saw in the first example, but the mechanism is different. In the first example a consonant belonging to the first syllable is inserted in the second syllable, whereas in the second example a consonant is removed from the first syllable in virtue of which the two syllables become assimilated (Ko-do).

A few days later the patient told me a dream in which she was in a compromising situation with a man and was discovered by her mother. She added that ' the scene took place in the *partrerre* of a house '.

The mechanism of this blunder is the same as in the example ' Protragoras '. I should imagine that the superfluous ' r ' in the second syllable acts against the tendency to remove the same letter from the first syllable. ' Paterre ' sounds like the Latin ' pater '. The latter word occurred not long ago in another blunder and clearly alluded to her father. The man in the dream with whom the patient was surprised by her mother very soon turned out to be a representative of her father. It is to be noticed that a duplicating pronunciation of the commencing letters of ' parterre ' would produce the treacherous word ' papa ', and this had been avoided in a manner exactly similar to that of the forbidden word ' popo ' in the first example.

It seems to me justifiable on the basis of these examples to speak of over-compensating blunders. I can express no opinion about the relationship of frequency in which they stand to the recognized forms. In order to show that the above examples originating in the same person are not unique, I will mention a blunder of a similar character which occurred in a man. I can only recount it as he gave it to me, for I was not able to analyse it with him. I feel, however, that my explanation of it contains a great measure of probability.

What my friend told me is as follows : ' Whenever tonsillitis is mentioned I am always embarrassed because of the Latin name of the disease. I am always on the point of saying " Angora " instead of " Angina " '. I expect that the word ' vagina ', which has a similar sound, was endeavouring to appear in the place of the word ' angina '. The error then

concerned the first half of the word. Such a mistake in speaking would be exceedingly painful in company, so the tendency for the error was displaced to the second half of the word. To designate tonsillitis as ' angora ' was at all events a comical mistake, but had in itself nothing of the painfulness of the one avoided. However, as my friend mentioned, the mistake had never actually happened. There only existed an habitual readiness for its perpetration. It is also clear here that the defensive tendency maintains the upper hand.

These kinds of blunders should not by any means be placed in essential contrast to the remainder. It is certainly worth noting that a defensive, over-compensating tendency succeeds in place of an impelling one. In the psychological sphere we know of similar processes in various forms. In an anxiety-dream, after its analysis it is not the affect of anxiety, defence or flight that seems to be the essential thing, but that impulse of the dreamer whose fulfilment the dream serves; it is all the same whether the wish-fulfilment succeeds or is inhibited.

It seems fitting to draw a comparison of the phenomena described here with some symptoms of the obsessional neurosis. One thinks, for instance, of the repeated testing to see whether the gas tap is turned off. An escape of gas could kill the relatives of the neurotic. His hand would like to obey the unconscious command to leave the gas tap on. The typical outcome of the conflict in obsessional neurotics is the victory of caution. Although this is the outcome, psycho-analysis quite rightly lays the chief weight on the repressed impulses and on the unconscious. It is just the same with the cases described here, which express an external victory of the censorship similar to that in anxiety-dreams and in many obsessional symptoms.

Karl Abraham.

A COMPOUNDED SLIP OF THE TONGUE

A newly married husband repeatedly referred to an old flame, albeit jokingly, yet with the subtle implication of a boast, in conversations with his wife. The latter apparently took the matter in good part, but betrayed her unconscious resentment by the following double slip of the tongue.

Upon the occasion of her husband showing her, in my presence, a card of congratulation from the lady of his past, the young wife remarked : ' Oh, that's from the girl in *Cleveland* ', although well aware of the fact that the lady in question was a native of, and resided in, *Clifton*, N.J.

She then appealed to me to explain the substitution of the one city for the other in her remarks. I requested her to tell whatever came to her mind in connection with Cleveland. She volunteered the information that a former suitor had lived there, and she then compounded the slip by adding ' He was employed there by the National *Welfare*, no, I mean National *Credit* Association '. I directed her attention to this second slip whereupon she stated that, at the time she met her husband, a gentleman connected with a welfare organization was paying her marked attention.

The interpretation of this double slip presents no difficulties. It is as if the young wife had said to her husband : ' You need not boast of your affair so much, for I, too, had suitors prior to marriage '. Indeed, I did not hesitate to add in my interpretation that the *double* slip carried the additional implication that, if the wife were so minded, she could outdo her husband and talk about two past suitors against his one affair. The interpretation was accepted by the wife *in toto* as correct.

Monroe A. Meyer.

FROM CHILD LIFE

The following behaviour which came under the writer's direct observation may be of interest.

A girl child who first saw her father, owing to his absence on service, when she was fifteen months old, daily performed the following ceremony till she was five years old. She daily waited for her father's return from business before going to stool ; on his return she brought the chamber into the sitting-room, deposited it at his feet and there defecated. She then handed the chamber to her father sternly for removal from the room. The child was gleeful and often sang or laughed during the ceremony. The presence of a stranger, e.g. myself who was a visitor as friend not as doctor, did not prevent the due execution of the performance. The girl, now eight, is apparently quite normal ; her excretory functions are no longer performed in public. No parental injunctions or punishment had been used to stop the earlier habit ; on the contrary, the father used to laugh and appear highly amused. It just came to an end when she went to a Kindergarten.

M. D. Eder.

ABSTRACTS

General

Girindrashekhar Bose. The Reliability of Psycho-Analytic Findings. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1923, Vol. III, p. 106.

Peculiar difficulties attend the investigation of unconscious phenomena, and as these are frequently of an emotional nature some criterion of values is necessary. There is little field for experiment in psycho-analysis, but observation is important and should be comprehensive, whilst the importance of inference cannot be overrated. Interpretations must always be of the nature of theories, hence they should exhibit an economy of hypothesis, and should conform to the principles of familiarity, extension and analogy. The single and simple theory should be preferred to the multiple and complicated, the more familiar of two theories is the more likely, the more extended the application the better, whilst the validity of a theory in parallel cases provides confirmatory evidence.

Every psycho-analytic interpretation should be a better and simpler explanation than that of the patient: it should fit in with other events diversely interpreted by the patient, and it should be an explanation more or less familiar in other spheres of life. It is more trustworthy if of interpretative value in dreams, myths, etc., and is rendered more probable by applicability in parallel instances. Removal of the symptoms after analysis is of corroborative value, whilst admission of the truth of any explanation by the patient is of slight significance. Finally, all rival explanations should be less satisfactory than the given interpretation. It is wrong to assume that because we arrive at an interpretation by the method of free association, it must necessarily be correct.

Edward Glover.

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L. L. Bernard. Instincts and the Psycho-analysts. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, Jan.–Mar., 1923, p. 350.

Mr. Bernard finds the psycho-analysts guilty of a grave methodological error in ' defining or thinking of instinct in terms of its end or function ', instead of doing as he does, ' to view it in terms of the structure of the

act'. Psycho-analysts furthermore approach the question of instincts from a metaphysical rather than from a scientific standpoint. They choose to deal with abstract social and personal values, instead of neural stimulus and response processes, end organs and effectors. He objects to Freud because he nowhere speaks of the environment *by name* (italics mine) as playing a significant rôle. 'Adler's theory of organ inferiority must in a large measure, if not primarily, be regarded as a theory of environmental influence in the production of the psychoneuroses.' The reason is evidently because 'a reading (a cursory one, we may add) of pathology makes it sufficiently clear that the chief source of organ inferiority is unfavourable environment'.

All of which sounds very strange to one conversant with Freud's views. It is quite evident that the author uses the word 'environment' in the very general sense in which it is employed in textbooks on sociology, and that he fails to recognize environmental influence except when he is specifically told it exists. In very scholarly fashion he has counted the number of times that Freud uses the word environment in comparison with the word instinct. Yet, in spite of all this, it is quite evident to the author in his psycho-analytic readings that 'environmental situations were the immediate and actual causes or occasions for the psychoneuroses'. Cause and occasion, we take it, must be synonymous. From all this it is very difficult to be convinced that the author has very much to teach psycho-analysts about methodology.

The remainder of the article engages in a rather futile task of reconciling the views of Freud, Jung, Tansley, Trotter, and others, on the subject of instinct, along purely academic lines.

A. Kardiner.

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W. Whately Smith. Some Properties of Complex Indicators. *British Journal of Psychology* (*Medical Section*), 1921, Vol. I, p. 281.

The author here considers some further results of his work with Jung's word association experiments in combination with the psycho-galvanic reflex. Assuming the distinction drawn in a previous paper between 'positive' and 'negative' affective tone (the former being 'that variety of tone which tends to attract attention or to promote the accession to consciousness of those "ideas" whose presence therein it accompanies, while negative tone is the variety possessed of the opposite properties') and assuming that a complex—in the narrower, pathological sense—is characterized by the latter kind of tone, he finds that prolongation of reaction time by itself is not a reliable complex indicator, since it is sometimes due to positive affective tone or to purely intellectual causes. The psycho-galvanic reflex is also influenced by both positive and negative

tone. The best complex indicator is disturbance in subsequent reproduction of the associated words. Nevertheless the scope and utility of the word association method is greatly increased by the use of the galvanometer.

J. C. F.

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Morton Prince. An Experimental Study of the Mechanism of Hallucinations. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1922, Vol. II, p. 165.

Dr. Morton Prince having been led to the view that in certain instances at least hallucinations are essentially the emergence into awareness of imagery belonging to subconscious thought, the same sort of imagery that occurs in conscious thought, he describes in this paper a systematic experimental study based on a combination of various methods. He details his procedure as follows: (*a*) to induce experimentally subconscious processes; (*b*) to 'tap' the subconscious process while in progress and obtain physical records of it; (*c*) if any illusions occurred synchronously to obtain a detailed description of the same; (*d*) to correlate by comparison if possible the imagery of the hallucination with the ideas expressed in the written record of the subconscious process; and (*e*) to obtain immediate evidence by subconscious introspection of the relation, if any, between the elements of the subconscious and the imagery of the hallucination and the mechanism of the same. The latter method included, in some of the observations, a 'carefully worded questionnaire to be answered by automatic script and followed often by a rigid cross-examination of the replies, care being taken to suggest no leads or theories'. The work was carried out on a subject who combined the conditions of experiencing hallucinations and producing automatic script without awareness of what the hand was writing, a young woman who had come to Dr. Morton Prince suffering from double personality, although this condition had disappeared at the time of the experiments.

The detailed account of the experiments is of great interest, and rich in psychological material. The subconscious thought was directed in turn to (1) the description of an actual episode which had occurred to the subject a year or two earlier; (2) a fabricated story, constructed out of the material of the former phantasies of one of her alternating personalities; (3) a fabricated story that was to be subconsciously constructed out of material other than that of her former phantasies, to be 'original'; (4) a subconscious memory of a forgotten dream, belonging to the time previous to the splitting of her personality; (5) a memory of 'some episode in her life of an anxious kind'. In a second series of observations, a converse procedure was adopted, artificial hallucinations being experimentally produced by means of a crystal, and the script being employed

to describe what, if any, subconscious thoughts occurred during the hallucinations. The nature of the hallucinations was in these cases left to chance. A further series of observations deals with auditory hallucinations. And finally, we are given the record of a dream, of two sketches of the dream scenes, and of the ' analysis ' of the dream, its meaning and the motive for its production, by means of a ' rigid cross-examination ' of the subconscious processes as revealed in the automatic script. The dream ran as follows: ' I saw a stage with a huge red pepper in the centre of the stage and the lights were dim. Then I heard a loud burst of music and the scene changed and the large pepper opened in quarters and a large group of women in bright red tights were dancing around upon the quartered pepper. Upon their heads were caps of red, fashioned like the top of a red pepper with the stem serving as a tassel. The stage was now ablaze with light and just as I awakened it grew dim and the women scampered away '. And the following ' was testified to by the script ' . . . ' The meaning of the scene was a passionate dance and atmosphere. The red pepper bespoke that idea, warmth of the dance and its dancers. The motive was not a (subconscious) sexual wish on her part, nor was the scene a sexual wish fulfilment. Nor was there any sexual feeling or desire at the time of constructing this vaudeville novelty or during the dream. (In reply to a question as to this the hand wrote emphatically, underscoring twice, ' NO ! '.) The purpose was the artistic one—to create something that would draw and specifically ' attract the male attendance '. ' The idea intended to be conveyed to the public by the red pepper and the movements of the dancers was that of passion. This the red peppers symbolized because they are hot. . . . I thought it a spicy, snappy idea. . . . The women coming out of the pepper symbolized beauty of form, nothing more. . . . Now what would you think if you went and viewed it at a theatre ? ' Dr. Morton Prince comments on this that, ' This interpretation of the motive of the dream of course will be objected to by some critics who will insist that there was a deeper unrevealed and unsuspected " unconscious " motive in the form of a sexual wish. This criticism cannot be disproved, but it is very amateurish in that it shows a lack of familiarity with experimental psychology and an all-comprehensive knowledge of the phenomena of the subconscious '.

His main general conclusions are that there is a type of visual and auditory hallucination in which the imagery has its source in a dissociated mental process of which the subject is not consciously aware, and that the content of this process contains images identical with the normal imagery of conscious thought, the hallucinatory quality of the images thus emerging being a necessary consequence of the fact that they are normal mental elements in a separate dissociated train (mental process). The conclusion is justified that certain hallucinations of the insane are

due to the same mechanism, and it thus follows that hallucinations of this type occurring in the pathological psychoses are indications of the activity of a dissociated subconscious process as a factor in the psychoses. The hallucinatory phenomenon carries the further implication that the genesis and psychopathology of the psychosis are to be found in the forces which have determined the dissociation and motivated the subconscious process; but it is not to be assumed that all hallucinations have the mechanism of the type here studied.

The psychological problem of differentiating between normal imagery and hallucination disappears in that they are identical, the hallucination being only the normal imagery of a dissociated subconscious process. So far from an hallucination being a regression to an infantile form of thought (Freud), it is an element in highly developed adult thought processes. The mechanism of the imagery of some dreams is the same as that of the hallucinations here studied.

Susan Isaacs.

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J. C. Gregory. The Nature of Laughter. *Psyche*, 1923, Vol. IV, p. 150.

The author, showing that anger in its aggressive poise intimates its connection with an instinctive action of attack, points out that the opposite occurs in laughter, which arises in a situation of relief. Purely comic laughter is differentiated from the sympathetic and humorous varieties. Coleridge suggested that laughter is never anti-sympathetic and Eastman thought that whenever unsympathetic elements appear, they are pollutions and not parts of laughter. McDougall is more restrictive in defining laughter as an instinct accompanied by the *specific* emotional excitement of amusement. The author rejects the mildly monistic theory of Eastman and the rigidly monistic theory of McDougall; he accepts a freely pluralistic theory and believes that laughter contains a rich variety of emotions or feelings. Laughter has been humanized and has responded to the advance of civilized sympathy by becoming more sympathetic and less cruel. In commenting on McDougall's theory of laughter as a correction for an excess of sympathy, Gregory thinks that human history does not suggest a need for a special instinctive control of sympathy, but that it senses a humanization of laughter. Relief is probably the most original emotion of laughter and explains both its pervasion by sympathy in humour and its disciplinary rôle in ridicule. The laugh occurs in its most purely physical situation in laughter of sheer relief, as when a danger is suddenly removed. Because the two sides of a situation of relief compose an incongruity, the sense of the ludicrous appears. Addison states that laughter, while it lasts, slackens and unbraces the mind and weakens

the faculties. Triumphant laughter, although often cruel, may contain an opportunity for sympathy. Anti-sympathetic impulses are not prominent in an atmosphere of relaxation or relief. Wit is decisive, illuminating expression of truth ; it is not itself laughable, but it provides laughter with its situation of relief and with incongruities. Laughter is the elater of situations of relief, it breaks off action or thought, and extracts a comic recompense from the break. Laughter, which is always protean, may rise nobly against a background of seriousness or ignobly as ' fun in Bagdad '.

Robert M. Riggall.

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Edward S. Robinson. A Concept of Compensation and Its Psychological Setting. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, Jan.–Mar., 1923, p. 383.

A well-written article, which has, however, little new or of interest to psycho-analysts. The concept of compensation is widened far beyond the limits given to it by psycho-analysis, and is made to include such items as sublimation. Religion and art are thus conceived to be institutionalized forms of compensation.

A. Kardiner.

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C. A. Richardson. The Influence of Affective Factors on the Measurement of Intelligence. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1923, Vol. III, p. 34.

Starting from the fact that psychological science during the twentieth century has made rapid growth in two main directions, namely, the analytic method in psychotherapy, and the testing and quantitative assessment of intelligence, the author suggests that the point has been reached at which we are compelled to inquire what bearing each of these two movements may have upon the theory and practice of the other. The particular question which he thinks it pertinent to ask is : May it not be possible that the *apparent* intelligence of an individual is in part conditioned by affective inhibitions which conceal his real grade of intelligence ? From the point of view of the measurement of intelligence, the practical question to be decided is whether the performance of children and others in mental tests is affected by inhibitions of the kind referred to.

Mr. Richardson rightly says that this question can only be settled decisively by testing a number of children and then re-testing them after analytic treatment. Wanting this, however, he proceeds to what he feels to be a reliable, albeit provisional, conclusion, on the basis of certain *a priori* considerations as to the nature of the tests themselves, and as to

the actual results of the tests. Considering first individual tests, it is held that by far the larger proportion of the questions in individual scales are noticeably lacking in any element which might for particular individuals constitute affective or emotional tone in any degree worth considering. ' It is true that a few of the Binet tests deal with matters which tend to acquire for most persons some marked affective tone, but even in such cases the matters are of a kind calculated to produce far less emotional effect on children than on adults. But apart from these comparatively few and isolated instances the affective tone of the tests is almost entirely neutral.' And with regard to the risk of affective inhibitions arising from the conditions of administering the tests, 'it may be safely said that with a tester who understands his work any serious effect due to affective inhibitions arising from the conditions of administration of the tests can be practically eliminated '. In the case of group tests, however, the risk of disturbances due to the conditions of testing may be somewhat greater, although even here it will not contribute to the *mass* results of the tests.

Turning to the actual results of testing, it is held that if interference of affective factors occurred, it would be quantitatively unequal, and more or less arbitrary, and would therefore lead to irregular variations in the I.Q. The now well-established constancy of the I.Q. of a given child, within the limits of experimental error, is thus a clear indication that affective factors do not seriously interfere with the measurement of intelligence.

Susan Isaacs.

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Clinical

Nolan D. C. Lewis. A Psycho-analytic Study of Hyperthyroidism. *The Psycho-analytic Review*, 1923, Vol. X, No. 2, April, 1923, p. 140.

The author reports the study of two cases of hyperthyroidism, calling attention to the probability that the emotional conflicts of the patient play a considerable rôle in the pathogenesis of this disease. A considerable amount of extremely interesting dream material is presented, and the author's interpretations are given. Unfortunately, in some instances, the value of these interpretations is diminished by occasional evidences that the author is none too familiar with the symbolism of dreams or the technique of analysis. An experienced analyst would find difficulty in agreeing with some of the interpretations. The article is worth reading, however.

H. W. F.

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Gerald H. Fitzgerald. Some Aspects of the War Neurosis. *Brit. Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1922, Vol. II, p. 109.

This is a paper based on Freud's *Jenseits des Lustprinzips*. Cases of traumatic neurosis in which the pre-war psychoneurosis was negligible or obscure regress to an infantile condition and the narcissistic sense of injury and injustice is accounted for by this factor. Recurring war dreams almost exactly reproducing the trauma show the regressive motive and may occur after abreaction of the original affect. The dominance of the pleasure principle is mastered by the repetition compulsion. Anxiety dreams are attempts at cure in that the *Angst* is produced to overcome the original shock.

It is to be regretted that the author of this paper has failed to make suitable acknowledgment to the source of his information.

Robert M. Riggall.

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Phyllis Greenacre. A Study of the Mechanism of Obsessive Compulsive Conditions. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 1923, Vol. II, p. 527.

Eighty-six cases of phobias and compulsions constitute the material upon which this study has been carried out, ' primarily to investigate the specific factors producing these conditions '. The problem was approached under two headings: (1) ' The possible existence of the forerunners of the full-blown reactions, especially in the make-up and life situations ', and (2) the mechanism of production. In the make-up the author finds consistently a definite social awareness with an acute sense of limitation or inferiority, personal or situational. Only very rarely is there any intellectual inferiority; between one-fourth and one-third reached colleges or professional schools. There is a marked adherence to conventionality. The situational factor is contributed by the cultural and educational contrast between the patient and the environment, also by economic obstacles, as well as by real or fancied sex inferiority. The age of incidence is 16 to 40, most frequently between 21 and 25. Most of the cases had a much earlier beginning, culminating through a series of connected or discrete episodes in the pathological reaction. ' Even when the content of the present obsessive or compulsive activity is unrelated to that of earlier symptoms, the fact still remains that the apparently disconnected outcroppings are evidence of the formation of a mental habit, a growing reaction tendency in meeting conflicting needs and desires '.

The question of the relation of early life rituals and phobias to the adult psychoneurosis the author dismisses by a dialectic gesture: Since childhood phobias and rituals are very common, and the adult compulsive states comparatively rare . . . the relation is that merely of a chance

association ; the neurotic hearkening to his past recalls with great ease what the normal forgets. The salient problem as to what determines the psychoneurotic tendency of reverting to childhood is not even raised.

With reference to a possible ' Anlage ' as the basis for future compulsive states, the following issues are considered : (1) Frequency of compulsive states in childhood ; (2) Do these manifestations in the normal differ from those of the future psychoneurotic ; (3) What is the significance of the difference. The material for the comparative study was thirty auto-histories by members of staff and students. Of these only one denied phobias and compulsions—although none was disturbed by these in any measure comparable to the psychoneurotic. The content of these manifestations differs from that of the potential patient. Those compulsive childhood traits which were in keeping with the group, play activities, traditions, superstitions, and religion, caused no intensified sensitivity or disturbance. Among the individual rituals tending to reach the significance of a pathological reaction, those pertaining to eliminative functions of the child are conspicuous.

As regards the mechanism of compulsions and phobias, the author distinguishes three stages of development : First, simple balancing of wishes, with the fear of the consequences of its realization. If neither completely supervenes, then the patient becomes a victim of a constant oscillation between the wish and the fear. Occasionally this mechanism may prevail as a discrete episode even in the normal in an urgent situation. The second type of mechanism arises by way of involving associative material into the wish—fear conflict, with the displacement of the accent upon the associative material. The third type of mechanism is the substitution of a symbolic object or ritual for the original desire—fear situation.

Since all the mechanisms may occur episodically in the normal and by way of association and symbolism, and may be allocated to a remote material without any deleterious effects, it is obvious that the mechanisms alone could not account for the production of the compulsive states. What determines the persistence of these states in some individuals and the disappearance in others ? The answer is to be found in the content of the compulsions and fears. The wish part of the conflict is invariably one which would involve social disapproval. Thus ' It is only a minister who could develop an obsessive desire to be profane '. Obviously, sex impulses *par excellence* give rise to illicit desires. As an exception to this the author considers the suicidal and homicidal compulsions. The greater the social condemnation for a given wish, the greater the tendency to perpetuate the conflict, and hence the more elaborate compulsive measures to safeguard against the wish asserting itself.

Conflict, involvement of associative material, displacement and sym-

bolization, the rôle of sex in the content of the neuroses, the significance of childhood experiences, and childhood compulsive phenomena in relation to the adult affliction, these are the considerations in the light of which this study has been carried on. The vitalizing influence of the Freudian psychology and theory of neuroses is clearly felt in this study, even though it impresses one as a rather dilettante effort.

The author completely dispenses with the unconscious, busies herself with conflicts essentially in terms of surface mental processes, overstresses the precipitating situational factor, sees but a chance association between childhood life and the adult symptoms, and refers to social inhibitions exclusively in terms of an external power, instead of an introjected force which once having become an integral part of the ego exerts its tyranny irrespective of whether the external pressure is actually present or not. There is also a timidity displayed in the consideration of the factor of sex, conceding to it but grudgingly the important rôle it plays, in spite of the fact that even the rather scanty excerpts of the case material in the article are in themselves a most convincing proof of the importance of this factor.

Then again the author has practically entirely disregarded the contributions of psycho-analysis to the subject of compulsion neuroses. To attempt an investigation, these days, of this very interesting ailment, without taking into consideration the descriptive as well as the theoretical material gathered in the light of psycho-analysis is to engage oneself in the naïve undertaking of rediscovering America. It is conceivable how under the prodding of healthy scepticism, established routes may be subjected to criticism and verification as to their efficacy, or that a new and more efficient road may be sought; but that an investigator in his work on a problem should deliberately shut his eyes to all that has been done in that field by other workers represents a curious mental attitude of 'splendid isolation'.

The study would have no doubt proven more fruitful had the author paid attention to the discoveries of Freud and his co-workers in compulsion neuroses, such as, the significance of certain primary impulses, anal erotism, exhibitionism, the phenomenon of ambivalence, homosexuality, and, foremostly, the phenomena of infantile fixation and regression. Obviously the enormous material, eighty-six cases, valuable for whatever statistical data it may render, is much too large for a thorough and penetrating study such as psycho-analysis implies. The question, however, as to whether more productive results may be obtained from intensive study of individual cases as against the statistical data of superficially studied groups of cases still remains an open one in the light of this study.

Albert Polon.

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H. Wilfred Eddison. Psychoneurotic Aspects of Miners' Nystagmus. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1923, Vol. III, p. 116.

The general impression seems to be that the subjective symptoms of headache, vertigo, etc., are secondary to the nystagmus, but the grouping of the symptoms, as they occur in individual cases, allows of another interpretation.

1. Physical injuries, especially to the eyes or head, may be followed by the onset of neurotic symptoms plus nystagmus.

2. In cases where nystagmus previously existed, injury to, or a foreign body in an eye aggravates the condition even long after the attendant conjunctivitis has cleared up.

3. The symptoms are aggravated by drawing the patient's attention to them.

4. Nystagmus may first be noticed at the outbreak of a neurosis.

5. When the neurotic symptoms intervene in a case of nystagmus hitherto free from symptoms other than giddiness, vertigo, and blepharospasm, etc., these latter symptoms are incorporated amongst those of the neurosis.

6. The nystagmus group of symptoms passes imperceptibly into the anxiety group. Tremors of the hands follow those of the head and become generalized on excitement or exertion. Finally tachycardia, hyperidrosis, etc., follow.

7. The ocular oscillations are experimentally inseparable from other tremors that may be present.

8. In some cases, in the course of psycho-analysis, the nystagmus took part in an abreaction.

9. Treatment of several men by suggestion favourably influenced, temporarily, the nystagmus as well as the subjective symptoms.

10. The nystagmus itself did not appear accessible to analysis, and seemed to be more an actual neurotic than a psychoneurotic sign.

11. The course of the case under repeated examination and treatment was a good example of the dependence of the patient upon the physician.

12. The signs and symptoms, including the nystagmus, constitute an unconscious resistance against treatment.

13. Many obviously psychoneurotic conditions closely simulate that of Miners' Nystagmus, without the latter ever having been detected.

As regards the variations in symptomatology according to racial type, the clinical picture presented by the rather stolid and unimaginative Yorkshiremen shows itself more as a relatively pure anxiety neurosis, while that of the more excitable and imaginative Welshmen approximate to the psychoneurotic type. The Staffordshire miners are intermediate both in temperament and neurotic manifestations.

This paper was limited to a statement of facts observed owing to the scantiness of my psycho-analytical knowledge at the time. Since writing the paper, however, I should like to modify No. 10, for, on reading again the copious psycho-analytical notes made at the time of the investigations, I find that they are sufficient to indicate, as Dr. Ernest Jones observes in his review of the First Report of the Miners' Nystagmus Committee of the Medical Research Council, that at any rate in a number of cases a castration complex was very evident, and embraced the actual nystagmus, as I hope to show at a late date.

Author's Abstract.

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F. J. Gerty, M.D., and George W. Hall, M.D. Folie à Trois. *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, Vol. X, No. 4, October, 1923.

This paper describes the appearance, within a few months, of psychosis in two brothers and a sister. From the standpoint of descriptive psychiatry the three case reports are adequate and complete: blood pressures, urinalyses, blood counts—all these are reported. But the co-authors seem to be entirely ignorant of the fact that, from the standpoint of mental mechanisms, these three cases contain material interesting and even remarkable. Hence the paper is as dry as dust and as barren of interest as a case report typical of the clinical psychiatry of two decades ago. In their comment on the cases the co-authors discuss 'contagious insanity' as it has been discussed in French psychiatric literature; but they are apparently unaware of an important German literature on this subject, both Freudian and non-Freudian. Indeed, by failing to apply psycho-analytic interpretative methods to these three cases of so-called 'contagious insanity' the co-authors of this paper lost an opportunity to make what would have been, perforce, an intriguing and most instructive contribution.

M. A. Meyer.

Childhood

Olga Bridgeman, M.D. The Psychology of the Normal Child. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1923, Vol. 81, p. 1260.

This solemnly sententious paper, full of platitudes, might just as well have been written in 1870 in so far as it betrays any knowledge of the fact that such an influence as that of Freud has changed the attitude of psychologists and the aspect of psychology.

The author accepts McDougall's much-disputed seven primary instincts. There is no mention made of a distinction between normal and morbid fear. 'Darkness, solitude, unexpected movement in objects,

sudden loud sounds, or unfamiliar experiences ' are all lumped together as ' irrational ' exciters of fear. Not a mention of Freud's mechanism of the breakdown of repression or of Watson's work with infants wherein he showed that there are a restricted number of stimuli that evoke fear in the new-born, and that darkness, solitude and unfamiliar experiences are not among these, but arouse only indifference or curiosity. They may do so later on in the child's life, but then they have been conditioned. One wonders if the children in California are biological sports in that Dr. Bridgeman does not report the presence of sex in their psychology.

Leonard Blumgart.

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Louis A. Lurie, M.A., M.D. The Subnormal and Psychopathic Child as Exemplified in Special Clinic. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1923, Vol. 81, p. 1262.

This paper deals much more with the organic factor in the subnormal and psychoneurotic child than with the mental. The author's approach is largely somatic and although he is aware of another aspect he mentions it only in general terms. Does he know of psycho-analysis and not mention it for fear of the ' Medes and Persians ' in the American Medical Association, or has Dr. Lurie still to read the literature that would give him clearer insight into the minds of his little patients ?

Leonard Blumgart.

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Cyril Burt. The Causal Factors of Juvenile Crime. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1923, Vol. III, p. 1.

Nearly 200 London cases of juvenile delinquency, and, as a control-series, 400 normal cases, were individually investigated in parallel inquiries ; and the various adverse conditions, discoverable in their family history, in their social environment, and in their physical, intellectual, and temperamental status, were ascertained and tabulated for each group. The tables show a lengthy list of contributory causes. Delinquency in the young seems assignable, generally to a wide variety, and usually to a plurality, of converging factors ; so that the juvenile criminal is far from constituting a homogeneous psychological class.

To attribute crime in general to either a predominantly hereditary or a predominantly environmental origin appears impossible ; in one individual the former type of factor may be paramount ; in another, the latter ; while, with a large assortment of cases, both seem, on an average and in the long run, to be of almost equal weight. Heredity appears to operate, not directly through the transmission of a criminal disposition as such, but rather indirectly, through such congenital conditions as dull-

ness, deficiency, temperamental instability, or the excessive development of some single primitive instinct. Of environmental factors those centring in the moral character of the delinquent's home, and, most of all, in his personal relations with his parents, are of the greatest influence.

Psychological factors, whether due to heredity or to environment, are supreme both in number and strength over all the rest. Emotional conditions are more significant than intellectual; while what may be termed psycho-analytic complexes provide everywhere a ready mechanism for the direction of overpowering instincts and of repressed emotionality into open acts of crime. Complexes relating to the child's attitude towards his parents (or step-parents) were noted far more commonly than sexual complexes in the narrower sense.

Author's Abstract.

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Cyril Burt. The Causes and Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency. *Psyche*, 1921, Vol. II, pp. 232 and 339; 1922, Vol. III, p. 56.

This series of articles is perhaps the most important study of delinquency that has been made in England from the psychological point of view, the data having been collected from a first-hand examination of many cases by an observer who enjoys both exceptional gifts and exceptional opportunities for work of this description. The psychological factors concerned in juvenile delinquency are grouped under two main heads—Intellectual and Emotional. Under the first head are considered mental deficiency, mental backwardness, educational backwardness and supernormal ability. The consideration of emotional conditions begins with an interesting table of offences, from which the conclusion is drawn that the commoner delinquencies committed by the young consist of the original or slightly modified reactions prompted by the universal instincts. This leads to a consideration of the instincts, the broad outline of the treatment for the most part following McDougall, though a 'nomadic instinct' is added to McDougall's list and a central factor of 'general emotionality' is postulated. Sentiments and complexes are then considered in their relation to delinquency and in this part of the work much use is made of psycho-analytic concepts, especially in the treatment of mixed or ambivalent sentiments. Thus considerable space is allotted to the 'step-mother complex', the authority and disgust complexes, sex complexes and complexes of inferiority and self-assertion. In these ambivalent complexes the positive or love aspects predominate in the neurotic, but in delinquents it is generally the negative or hate aspect which is the stronger. In conclusion the author urges the desirability of an intensive study of each individual offender.

These articles are full of interesting detail and sound psychological

understanding: they undoubtedly constitute a most useful application of psychological and psycho-analytic methods to a most important field, and (through their profounder psychological insight) carry a step further the work so well begun by Healy in America.

J. C. F.

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W. H. B. Stoddart. Delinquency and Mental Defect (IV). *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1923, Vol. III, p. 188.

Delinquency refers to the tendency to commit crimes and not to the misdeeds themselves. Morality is simply the control of instincts and is responsible for the Freudian conception of repression. Idiots and low-grade imbeciles have less control of their instincts and are more immoral in the widest sense than normal children. On the other hand, the moral tone of high-grade imbeciles and backward children is equal to or even in advance of normal children of their own intellectual mentality. This is a strong argument against the existence of 'moral imbecility', which means innate delinquency with little or no intellectual defect. In progressive degeneration of the nervous system the control of the instincts is lost in the reverse order of its evolution, the last control to come being the first to go. Stoddart notes that the usual misdeeds of the child have an unconscious sexual meaning. The objects stolen or destroyed have a phallic or womb symbolism. In the author's experience the thefts are invariably related to the castration complex. Destructiveness symbolizes sadistic attacks on the mother. Delinquency may be a psychoneurosis occurring in an intellectually normal child, curable by psycho-analysis. In Stoddart's experience psychoneuroses are chiefly found among the educated intellectual classes.

Robert M. Riggall.

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Cyril Burt. Delinquency and Mental Defect (II). *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1923, Vol. III, p. 168.

The phrase 'mental deficiency' is applicable not only to defect in intelligence, but also to defect in temperament and character. The importance of intellectual deficiency in crime has been exaggerated. Burt finds 7 per cent. of his cases of juvenile delinquency mentally deficient. After puberty more girls than boys are defective and delinquent, but before puberty it is commoner in boys. Special classes for the backward child would result in immense diminution in crime. In considering deficiency in character, Burt agrees with East, that in moral imbecility there may be no intelligence defect. He disagrees with the popular medical and legal opinion which assumes the existence of an innate moral sense and

believes that morality is acquired after birth by slow and painful processes. Character is founded on innate tendencies, but in itself is not innate. If moral deficiency is simply a special variety of mental deficiency it is superfluous to define the moral imbecile separately. Although morality is not inborn it rests upon an inborn basis which is congenital and predisposes the child to immoral habits. All activities constituting crime spring from natural instincts. Burt uses the term 'temperamental deficiency' to denote an extreme degree of emotional instability due to inborn factors. He prefers to use this term instead of 'moral imbecility' and proposes the following criterion. 'A temperamental defective is one who, without being defective also in intelligence, exhibits, permanently, and from birth or from an early age, less emotional control than would be exhibited by an average child of half his chronological age; or, in the case of an adult, of the age of seven or less.' Using this criterion about 9 per cent. of Burt's delinquent cases would be classified as temperamentally defective; the law-abiding population being under 1 per cent. Milder degrees of temperamental instability were seen in 34 per cent. of these cases; 19 per cent. were markedly repressed. Adolescent instability occurred in only 2 per cent. All four contributors to the symposium agree that delinquency is more than a mere matter of defective intelligence. The proportion of intellectually defective cases among the delinquent population is far lower than earlier investigations maintained, the true proportion being nearer 5 per cent. than 50. As there is no inborn moral sense, there can be no inborn moral defect. In most cases inadequate intelligence is combined with excessive emotional instability, but in a few cases the latter condition exists without intellectual retardation.

Robert M. Riggall.

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F. C. Shrubsall. Delinquency and Mental Defect (III). *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1923, Vol. III, p. 179.

In 1922, 1·3 per cent. of the school-age population of London was mentally defective. Delinquents show a slightly greater average intelligence than the mass of day special school children in the (M.D.) schools. In adults the average mental age of defectives is 7·9 and of defective delinquents 8·5. In a percentage frequency of different offences, wandering provided the maximum number of cases showing a low grade of mentality. Shrubsall agrees with East's observation that women charged with soliciting show a relatively high mental age for defectives. In men, stealing is more frequently found among the unemployable classes, while, in women, the largest figure is for those in regular work. The author thinks that Burt's definition of temperamental defectives rather than moral imbeciles, would only include the unstable emotional temperament.

In the true moral imbecile the defect is not so much lack of inhibition as lack of feeling, the emotions being too neutral.

Robert M. Riggall.

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W. Norwood East. Delinquency and Mental Defect (I). *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 1923, Vol. III, p. 153.

In this paper East discusses certain criminal actions associated with mental deficiency. In dealing with criminals, individual consideration is essential. The number of mental inefficients among the prison population is estimated at about 5 per cent. In prison work the diagnosis of mental defect may be extremely difficult. Although the nature of the offence forming the actual charge may have no diagnostic value, the method and circumstances with which it is associated are frequently important. It is probable that in defective delinquents, acts of dishonesty are liable to appear at an earlier age than other criminal actions. Two classes of mental alienation are recognized in criminal law: Dementia accidentalis and Dementia naturalis or absence of understanding from birth. Difficulties in diagnosis due to malingering may be due to the ordinary criminal assuming mental defect or to the mental defective assuming normality. In prison work the most difficult cases to diagnose are those of a mixed mental deficiency and insanity. In these combined cases the defect does not affect the responsibility of the accused, whereas the insanity may. In working out the mental age of a patient by intelligence tests the author finds that if there is an abrupt ending to correct answers, at say 9 years, one is probably dealing with defect, also if for a year or two after, an occasional test is answered satisfactorily, it is defect, but if the occasional correct answer extends to the late years of the test series, acquired mental disorder or malingering is suggested. In the author's experience moral imbecility is rarely met with in prison, the diagnosis being more difficult than in any other form of mental deficiency. In the differential diagnosis between the habitual criminal and the moral imbecile it is of fundamental importance to recognize that the moral imbecile does not take elaborate precautions to hide his crime or avoid punishment. The paper is illustrated by some very interesting reports of cases.

Robert M. Riggall.

BOOK REVIEWS

Papers on Psycho-Analysis. By Ernest Jones, M.D., M.R.C.P. (Third Edition.) (Baillière, Tindall & Cox, London, 1923. Pp. x + 731. Price 25*s*.)

The author is to be congratulated on the publication of the third edition of his textbook, not only on personal grounds, but also because the fact that only five years have elapsed since the last edition appeared is evidence that more people are taking an interest in psycho-analysis than might be supposed.

We have called it a textbook advisedly because, although it is ostensibly a mere collection of papers, it gives a clear conception of the theory and practice of psycho-analysis as a whole and in an explanatory way touches upon just those difficulties which the practising psycho-analyst most frequently encounters among his patients.

This edition differs from the last in that five chapters have been omitted and five new ones added. Some of the omissions will be regretted by many readers.

The new chapters are :

Recent advances in Psycho-Analysis.
Persons in dreams disguised as themselves.
The nature of Auto-suggestion.
Cold, Disease and Birth.
and Some problems of Adolescence.

The title of the second of these does not seem to us to express the meaning of the paper, but we admit the difficulty of finding a more accurate one which would be reasonably short. However, Dr. Jones is a very clear writer, and there is no difficulty in understanding the subject-matter of this interesting chapter.

' Cold, Disease and Birth ' is an attempt to trace the superstition that cold is a cause of disease to the sudden cold which everybody experiences at birth, especially along the respiratory tract. This paper lends itself to amplification, and we feel that it might easily be made more convincing.

The trivial nature of these strictures will correctly convey the impression that the contents of this volume are above serious criticism. Every earnest psycho-analyst must and undoubtedly will study every word of this book.

W. H. B. Stoddart.

Expressionism in Art. By Dr. Oskar Pfister. Translation by Barbara Low, B.A., and M. A. Mügge, Ph.D. (Published by Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Pp. 272. Price 6*s.* 6*d.*)

In this book by the well-known writer on psycho-analysis, Dr. Oskar Pfister of Zurich, the author endeavours to show the unconscious meaning of certain modern tendencies in graphic art such as post-impressionism, cubism, futurism, etc., which he includes under the heading of ' expressionism '—a term which, in spite of what the author says to the contrary, does not seem to be altogether happy in its use to describe any one particular kind of art.

He sets out to show how the unconscious motives giving rise to the creation of these forms of art can be brought to light by the process of psycho-analysis. In the particular case he has selected for analysis he succeeds in doing so quite clearly. For this purpose he takes the case of a neurotic young artist, and after a brief analysis of some remembered phantasies and dreams of childhood asks him to produce some drawings to which the artist gives his associations. The drawings themselves in the ordinarily accepted sense of the word ' beauty ' possess none, neither of line, form, nor composition. The author shows, however, that they resemble other disguised and elaborated products of the unconscious like the dream and the neurotic symptom in that they possess not only a manifest content but a latent one also.

For instance, in the so-called portraits of the analyst, so different from one another as to lead to no suggestion that they are supposed to represent the same person, there is very little realistic presentation. But from the associations the author shows that the distorted and monster-like features are due to a projection on to the analyst of hostile feelings properly belonging to the father with whom the artist has unconsciously identified him. A strong hostility towards the father with a longing for the mother in no way satisfied by a cold but beautiful wife produced a conflict from which he secured no release by the process of sublimation. Instead, his libido remained to some extent fixated in the unconscious phantasies which are expressed in the drawings in their crude form.

Freud has said, as the author points out, that real art results from the introversion of the libido to the unconscious phantasies from which it derives its creative energy, but that it soon turns again towards reality so that the phantasies become elaborated in consciousness.

In this particular case the author shows there is very little turning again towards reality, no conscious elaboration of unconscious phantasies, resulting therefore in the expression of these phantasies in their primitive form and producing therefore a lack of realistic presentation in the drawings.

The conclusions the author draws are that the artist derived feelings

of pleasure by satisfying such desires as a thirst for vengeance, sadistic and masochistic tendencies.

That the drawings are disguised wish-fulfilments in the same way as the dream and neurotic symptom are, and, just as in the latter, may show an almost complete disregard for reality.

They are therefore compromise-formations which lead to no release in the sense that more realistic forms of art tend to do. Giving expression as the drawings do to purely subjective feelings of love and hate in unsublimated form, this kind of art becomes non-social and of no æsthetic value, producing no effect except upon those who by reason of their complexes are, as it were, in tune with the artist's mentality.

The latter part of the book is devoted to a consideration of the background of expressionism. Here he marshals his arguments for and against the value of this kind of art. The material is interspersed with transcendental and religious considerations which really have no place in a psycho-analytical consideration of the subject.

Warburton Brown.

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Studies in Psycho-analysis. By Prof. C. Baudouin. Translated from the French by Eden and Cedar Paul. (Allen & Unwin, London, 1923. Pp. 352. Price 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Psycho-analysis is the study of the unconscious. If you want to proclaim yourself a psycho-analyst, but have no inclination to study the unconscious itself, there is a simple recipe which many besides Dr. Baudouin have found useful. You collect easily made observations relating to the superficial region of the mind known as the preconscious, you christen this the ' subconscious ' and then assert that you are familiar with the unconscious.

What more is there to say about the book ? It is certainly attractively written, but when the translators designate it as ' perhaps the best work for beginners hitherto published ' we can only add that it is well calculated to keep them beginners. No beginner has any clear idea of the opposed way in which suggestion and analysis remove neurotic symptoms, or why, when they can both achieve this end, the two processes are mutually exclusive and incompatible. True to type, Baudouin advocates the conjoined use of both at the same time, and the translators naïvely urge that this standpoint, that of most beginners, is ' Baudouin's contribution as a pioneer in the field of therapy '. Again, every beginner is vague about the difference between true symbolism of the unconscious material and other processes such as metaphor, etc. They commonly, for instance, confound the part with the whole, the preliminary essential of condensa-

tion (identification) and the subsequent substitution of one part of the equation for the other. The translators tell us :

' Now one of the most notable of Baudouin's contributions to analytical science, and a matter upon which he differs from the Freudian school (!), is his careful study of condensation in its bearing upon representation by symbols.'

The readers of this *Journal* will be astonished to know that Rivers' views about the censorship (that it does not exist as an active function) ' seems to have been generally accepted by British and American psycho-analysts '.

The greater part of the book is taken up with a description of twenty-seven cases, but any evidence of psycho-analysis in regard to them is far and wide to seek.

E. J.

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A Critical Examination of Psycho-Analysis. By A. Wohlgemuth, D.Sc. (Lond.) (Allen & Unwin, London, 1923. Pp. 250. Price 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This volume is chiefly remarkable for its dust-cover, and we therefore propose in this instance to review the dust-cover instead of the book which it contains. Dr. Wohlgemuth's work, so we are informed by his publishers, Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, ' is a sober and dispassionate examination of Freud's teachings '. Every psycho-analyst, then, will rejoice at the prospect of reading it ; for every psycho-analyst is conscious that this new science, owing to the rapidity of its growth and the difficulty of its subject-matter, stands in special need of an occasional reconsideration of its underlying postulates and of an occasional sifting and co-ordinating of its results. And even though the examination should be a critical one and its conclusions unfavourable, nevertheless, if it is sober and dispassionate, the psycho-analyst may reasonably expect to find his own problems clarified by the process of meeting the arguments of his opponent. Such are the hopeful thoughts stirred up by the dust-cover in the confiding reader's mind. We should strongly recommend him to content himself with these hopes and to proceed no further. For behind the dust-cover lie things which will rudely shock his innocence, and may even destroy his faith in dust-covers for ever.

To begin with, it is true, we come upon nothing that is particularly disquieting. Dr. Wohlgemuth finds time in his opening chapters, before disproving the existence of the ' unconscious ', to spare a page or two for explaining the nature of the mind and its relation to the body. A few sentences from p. 16 will show that he is as much at home in physiology as in psychology, and will serve at the same time as a contrast to the wild and unsupported hypotheses put forward by the psycho-analysts :

' The blood circulating in the brain supplies it with highly complex chemical substances. Owing to their complex structure chemical potential energy is

stored in them. These substances are taken up, assimilated, by the brain-cells. By the breaking down of these neurone-substances into simpler substances, energy is liberated, and this is psychic or conscious energy, which immediately changes again into other forms of energy, probably heat.'

These earlier chapters, indeed, even contain a certain number of arguments: not very stiff, no doubt, but indisputably sober and dispassionate. Most of them are strangely familiar, and it is impossible to suppress a glow of affection at the sight of one or two of our oldest friends. What can be more soothing, for instance, than to hear Dr. Wohlgemuth soberly defining 'mental' as 'conscious' and then dispassionately inferring that an unconscious mental state is a contradiction in terms? It must not be supposed, however, that Dr. Wohlgemuth neglects empirical arguments. He devotes several pages to a statistical demonstration of the imaginary nature of the process known as 'repression', and recalls his own 16,346 tests upon 687 schoolgirls, which carry conviction, if not by their naïveté, at least by their number.

But as the reader proceeds, he begins to feel qualms. No doubt Dr. Wohlgemuth is infinitely painstaking; but is such a piece of criticism as the following accounted for entirely by the love of truth which the author protests in his preface?

'Here is another shining example of the speciousness of Freudian thinking: "This regression . . . is one of the most important of psychological peculiarities of the dream-process, but . . . it is not confined to the dream alone," a most important *peculiarity* (of the dream-process) that is *not confined* to it.'

Dr. Wohlgemuth is of course well aware that the German word '*Eigentümlichkeit*', like its English equivalent 'peculiarity', is ordinarily used to mean simply 'a noticeable quality'. Yet he adduces this purely philological point as an apparently important item in his criticism of the theoretical chapter of *Traumdeutung*. Why? From this and similar instances we begin to suspect the existence of some complicating factor. Can it be that Dr. Wohlgemuth is influenced by feelings connected with the discussion of sexual questions? Emphatically no! When he came to hear of the Œdipus Complex, he tells us,

'there was first a violent moral shock, followed by extreme disgust, outraged self-respect, and bitter resentment turning to rage. This gave place to a transitory contempt for Freud, turning soon to sadness, pessimism, and melancholy. Quickly I reacted against this. I said to myself, if Freud's view is true, all our outcry, gesticulation, and denial will not alter it a whit, for truth is truth to the end of reckoning. We have simply to face it'.

We are relieved to learn that Dr. Wohlgemuth's heroism found its suitable reward in his discovery that after all the Œdipus Complex was a put-up job. Evidently, therefore, this is not the complicating factor we are in search of, which seems to mar the sobriety and dispassionateness of his exposition. What, then, can it be? We are not left long in doubt.

It is Dr. Wohlgemuth's incorrigible sense of fun. '*Ce n'est que le ridicule qui tue*', he tells us in his preface; and he makes the very most of his great natural gift in that direction. It peeps out, if the phrase is permissible, upon almost every page. Thus he speaks, on p. 55, of reading Freud's psychology, and adds: 'I must confess that although I got plenty of *Freud* (i.e. amusement), I could discover but little psychology'. Again, in discussing anal-erotism, he suggests on p. 205 the new spelling 'psycho-analist'; and for fear the suggestion should be overlooked he repeats it on p. 224. Dr. Wohlgemuth's more elaborate *jeux d'esprit*—his spritely parody of a dream interpretation and his satires upon the analytic explanation of symptoms—are unfortunately too long to quote; but we cannot resist reproducing a couple of sentences from the last chapter, which closes in a pyrotechnic display of epigram and *badinage*.

'Darwin discovered "The Descent of Man", and Freud discovered that there wasn't a Decent Man.' 'Darwin was for twenty years dreaming of the "Origin of Species", but Freud presented us in a shorter time with a specious origin of dreaming.'

The Gallic lightness of touch revealed by Dr. Wohlgemuth in such passages as these is the sign of a temperament which is artistic, perhaps, rather than scientific, and which is further manifested in one or two other ways. For instance, in discussing the question of how far Little Hans was affected by suggestion, he quotes (p. 183) a passage in which Freud argues against the suggestion hypothesis. Dr. Wohlgemuth considers Freud's arguments insufficient, or as he puts it in his own temperamental fashion: 'For mere audaciousness and assurance even Cagliostro is eclipsed!' Unluckily, however, he cuts out from the middle of the quotation a whole paragraph of the original—which happens also to be the paragraph in which the effective part of Freud's arguments are contained. Dr. Wohlgemuth, it should be added, replaces the missing arguments by three dots. Again, it is no doubt as a man of taste rather than as a man of science that Dr. Wohlgemuth devotes two pages or more to a discussion of Professor Freud's personal cleanliness. And it is as a humorist that he declares (page 148) that if the analyst's mind

'is perverted, permeated with filth, he will construe the most innocent dreams into expressions of the most revolting ideas'.

This particular vein is a rich one, and Dr. Wohlgemuth works it to much advantage. Nothing, he says (p. 186), was brought to light out of Little Hans's 'unconscious'. 'Freud's, or the father's, repugnant sexual ideas have been communicated to him, and the healthy mind of a healthy little fellow has been polluted. The boy has been corrupted to afford gratification to the sexual phantasies of his psycho-analysers.' 'Unsavoury phantasies' (p. 160). 'Defiles the child's mind' (p. 187). 'Utter absurdity' (p. 237). 'Simply nonsense' (p. 241). 'Shallow',

'faulty', 'spurious' (p. 164). 'Superficial and cavalier' (p. 238). 'Museum specimens' (p. 239). 'Threadbare confidence-trick' (p. 241). 'Dead as a doornail' (p. 246). 'Cagliostro' (p. 183). 'Cagliostro' (p. 216). 'Cagliostro' (p. 246). . . . The book closes; but as it slips from the reader's trembling grasp his eyes fall once more upon the publisher's pronouncement: 'A sober and dispassionate examination of Freud's teachings.' . . . This volume is chiefly remarkable for its dust-cover.

James Strachey.

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Psycho-Analysis and Gland Personalities. By André Tridon. (Published by Brentano's Ltd., London. 1923. Pp. 248. Price 9*s.*)

It is not easy to discern for what class of reader this book is intended, and, since there is no preface, the author does not enlighten us.

There is practically nothing about psycho-analysis except a few remarks here and there saying what a fine thing it is, but that it requires the aid of glandular therapy to complete a cure.

Respecting the functions of the endocrine glands and glandular therapy, the author is extraordinarily dogmatic, whereas the great authorities on this subject are wont to be tentative in their teachings, or even sceptical. But M. Tridon tells us definitely that the thyroid is the gland of emotion, the pituitary is for growth, the adrenals are for pugnacity, the parathyroids are the glands of equilibrium, and so forth.

Occasionally he adds a little on his own account. For example, we are told that the Amazons had their breasts cut off so as to give them masculine characteristics. Now, on the one hand, the Amazons were a mythical people, and, on the other, the true story runs that the right breast only was cut off so that it should not interfere with the bow-string during battle. Moreover, we know of no experiments respecting the functions of an internal mammary secretion.

Indeed the whole book savours of journalism; yet it contains quite a lot of useful information simply and too dogmatically communicated. The matter is of the nature of a semi-digested scientific pap for those who are incapable of assimilating the solid food contained in more ponderous and authoritative tomes.

W. H. B. Stoddart.

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Our Phantastic Emotions. By T. Kenrick Slade, B.Sc. Foreword by Dr. S. Ferenczi. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co, London, 1923. Pp. xxvii + 179. Price 6*s.* 6*d.*)

The rôle played by the sexual interests in human beings having now

reached a considerable degree of precision, the genesis and fate of the ego-instincts are receiving greater prominence in psycho-analytical literature. It is perhaps a sign of these times that Mr. Slade's work deals almost entirely with the origin of some human emotions and temperamental factors from ego-instincts. Taking as his starting-point Ferenczi's primal phantasy, the infantile unconscious phantasy of omnipotence or, as the author prefers to call it, of supremacy, this essay endeavours to follow wheresoever it may lead him.

Just as much valuable work has been accomplished by isolating the components of the sexual instinct and pursuing these to their ends, it may be argued that equally meritorious conclusions can be reached by isolating an ego-function. There is, however, this difference in the work of Freud (and others) compared with that of Mr. Slade. The conclusions to which Freud was led were based upon actual contact with human material; they were based upon first-hand laboratory observations, for the psycho-analytical consulting-room is a psychological laboratory (*inter alia*, of course); the conclusions have been modified from time to time in accordance with further insight derived from such direct contact with living beings, whilst under these experimental conditions none of the elementary impulses could be ignored. Mr. Slade's interesting essay takes another part; he takes certain common human emotions and attempts, with a considerable degree of success, let it be said, to fit them into his key—the primal phantasy. This is not to decry the value of Mr. Slade's attempt, for on the whole he has not forced the lock. It means, however, that before his conclusions can be accepted they must be borne out by the analysis of human material. Moreover, as Ferenczi points out in an introductory note, the libido theory has been almost left out of account, producing necessarily too one-sided a point of view.

In a chapter on temperamental factors an endeavour is made to differentiate between the repression and activity of the primary phantasy.

Pessimism, suspicion, rationalism, scepticism, timidity, diffidence, humility, dependence, asceticism are said to be due to repression of the phantasy; contrasting with optimism, credulity, superstition, mysticism, rashness, cocksureness, pride, independence, sensuality when the phantasy is active. Mr. Slade points out that the lists furnish two types corresponding to Jung's introverts and extroverts, thus furnishing a suggestion from a non-Freudian source that Jung's types are unstable, disappearing on psychological investigation. For Mr. Slade has no hesitation in answering the question of what determines whether the phantasy shall become adequately sublimated, repressed, or shall remain active. *Infantile experience*, he replies immediately and in italics. He gives an incident demonstrating that the experience of every child is

different from that of every other. Even twins of the same sex have very different experiences; one is older than the other, and it is probable that the fact of having been born half an hour earlier or later than the other twin becomes of considerable psychological, just as it is of legal, moment.

Mr. Slade's book, like good wine and unlike a great number of books now publishing on psychology and analysis, needs no bush. It takes up many points not consecutively dealt with by other writers: it is gracefully and humorously written. It has already been said that the conclusions must be taken cautiously, say as tendencies, rather than as descriptions. Mr. Slade has not experienced the real inwardness of the unconscious.

M. D. Eder.

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Naturgeschichte der Seele und ihres Bewusstwerdens. By E. Bleuler. (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1921.)

The suggestive studies which we constantly receive from the pen of the Zurich psychiatrist amply justify our interest in his most recent publication. This book, which calls itself a primer of psychology, professes to give not only a compendious description of things mental but also a natural history of the mind. Thus the work claims to be based on natural science.

After a short discussion of the means whereby we may become acquainted with our minds Bleuler proceeds to derive consciousness from the functioning of the central nervous system. He constructs his study on the thesis that the mind is a function of the brain, and not infrequently in the course of his argument he harks back to the organic basis. Consciousness is regarded as a function of memory:

'Hence there is no reason to seek for any conditioning factors of consciousness other than those often named—memory and functional unity' (p. 44).

The point which he feels must be established is this:

'How the well-known physical functions of the central nervous system, amongst which, of course, the most important part is once more played by memory, of themselves and necessarily constitute a personality which is bound to become conscious!' (p. 47).

The subject of the 'psychic apparatus' is developed in every direction (memory, thought, affectivity) with reference to Semon's theory of the engrams. The author does not refrain from entering into philosophical questions (Kant, Deussen) and discusses religiosity and religions, finally launching forth into the ocean of philosophical views of life.

A number of questions are dealt with, but more still are thrown out. What I am concerned about is to make clear how far psychological

questions in the narrower sense come under discussion, questions which belong exclusively to that plane of mental experience to which we are accustomed (in order to arrive at ratios at all comparable with one another) to confine ourselves in psycho-analysis. I have always had the impression that psychology must begin where ' logic ' (causal-mathematical and real thinking) leaves off—where the thought process falls under the sway of uncontrolled affects. This is indeed the point at which psycho-analysis begins.

The author devotes a chapter under the title of ' *Dereierendes Denken* ' to this mode of thinking, which proceeds from inner motives. In this connection he says in a footnote (p. 191) :

' Up till now I have called it (" *dereierendes Denken* ") " autistic thinking " because it was noted for the first time in the autism of schizophrenia where it appears in its most pronounced form. This name, however, gave rise to misunderstandings . . . so I was obliged to suggest another. The word " dereieren " comes from " reor, ratus sum " (ratio, res, real) which means " to think logically, in accordance with reality ". Thus the literal meaning of " dereieren " would be " thinking which neglects or departs from reality." '

This type of thinking, as we read on p. 192,

' converts our wishes and also our fears into reality ; the boy at play becomes a general, the girl with her doll a happy mother ; . . . by means of such thinking the dreamer realizes his most secret wishes and fears '. ' Although such thinking (p. 193) does not in principle exclude the ordinary nexus of experience (indeed it often hardly departs from it in detail, e.g. in poetry), it may yet be said that it has its own laws and that a closer study of these would be a fruitful task.'

Now this pronouncement reads rather strangely, for the most important discoveries in the realm of such thinking have been made by a body of investigators whose object in fact it was to determine the basis of this phantasy-thinking ; I refer to Freud and his followers. As a result of their researches we are likely to learn more of the motives of this mode of thinking which departs from reality : hate, love, anxiety, jealousy—mental qualities which do properly belong to elementary psychology.

Bleuler is probably right when he observes that the ' *fonction du réel* ' is primary and that ' only on the highest levels, with the help of intelligence, is thinking apart from reality possible ' (p. 194). Phantasy springs from frustration in regard to real objects and this unreal thinking is fed by wishes.

The following passage strikes me as rather peculiar. The author works it out categorically on p. 243 :

' Interbreeding between races is a kind of racial suicide, in which these races perish, although under certain (rare) conditions new ones are thereby brought into being. . . . A natural instinct whispers to every race that it is the highest and that union with another is a misalliance, and *in the judgement of science this instinct is right* '.

It is true that in the state of racial hatred prevailing to-day it is rather dangerous for psychology to assume a purely psychological basi for the race-instinct; but apparently Bleuler contests the scientist's right to examine the question at all and turns the platform of science into a tribunal. It is not at all improbable that these racial instincts are rooted in primeval traditions, that is to say, are psychological quantities before which scientific thought should most assuredly not come to a standstill.

In the course of the argument Freud is frequently quoted, but I cannot escape the impression that he is always referred to only as the author of *Studien über Hysterie* and not as the founder of dream-interpretation. It follows that the attitude of the book towards psycho-analysis is determined by a one-sided apprehension of the theory.

A great deal is said about the unconscious, but the essential differences between unconscious and preconscious are disregarded; much misunderstanding and lack of clearness might have been avoided. Bleuler does the discoverer of the unconscious a decided injustice when he says, on p. 301:

'Freud inferred from this that the unconscious is timeless and amoral. This is an error. In the unconscious the passage of time is often much more accurately determined than would be possible for the conscious ego. . . .'

Freud has never disputed the capacity of the human mind to perform highly co-ordinated intellectual operations without the ego knowing anything about them, but the unconscious in the narrower sense does in fact consist of sharply circumscribed wishes which are in lasting opposition to the conscious morality of the ego.

The question whether Freud includes the latent engrams also in his unconscious (p. 100) is nugatory, seeing that psycho-analysis does not employ Semon's terminology at all. In a footnote to p. 300 Bleuler returns again to this subject:

'in particular all the works of the Freudian school, in regard to which it is worth noting that this school includes amongst its doctrines that of the latent engrams'.

For the rest, there seem to be profound differences between Bleuler's terminology and that of Freud (in the meaning of the word sexuality, perversion), probably due to the very different line of experience of the two investigators and to their different methods of work. It makes a difference whether scientific concepts are evolved from clinical material, i.e. from countless anamnestic observations which fit into one another like a mosaic—and of these Bleuler must possess an amazing abundance —or whether they are derived from careful analyses of relatively few patients, who for months or years, day in, day out, display their associative thought to the analyst, by which the anamnestic obscurity about their childhood is illuminated and the patient's whole conduct, actions

and inaction—his character—becomes one comprehensible context. Yet the fundamental principle of analysis is *multum* and not *multa*.

Ph. Sarasin.

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Einführung in die Probleme der allgemeinen Psychologie. By Ludwig Binswanger. (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1922.)

The intention of this book, which bears evidence of a wide knowledge of literature, is to introduce the reader to the 'fundamental problem' of scientific psychology, namely, that of 'subjectivity as such' or of 'consciousness'.

The task is a comprehensive one, but the inquiry pursues a single line towards a single goal: the subjective.

The foundation upon which the work is built up consists of the philosophical and psychological writings of Stumpf, Brentano, Husserl, Lipps, Natorp, Leibnitz and Kant—to mention only a few of the writers—some of whom are actually quoted, whilst the ideas of others are interwoven into the discussion. I need hardly mention that this book can be appreciated only from the psychological-philosophical point of view; the author presupposes in his readers a knowledge of the literature of the subject and a common line of interest.

The psycho-analyst and physician, accustomed in his researches to exclude the subjective in any form and to adopt a cool and objective attitude towards his observations, yet finds his attention drawn to Binswanger's book by the fact that it is dedicated to two scientists whose work is quite distinct from philosophy: Bleuler and Freud. Both names occur again in the text; in view of this I have read the book and tried to understand it.

It falls into two principal sections. In the first the problem of subjectivity is discussed as it relates to the subject's own ego, while in the second it is considered in relation to the ego of others.

Special care is devoted to the *concept* and its significance. Let us now look into the book more closely. The author first turns to the definition of the mental and expatiates on its 'objective peculiarities'. We read of 'the actualities of the content (*inhaltliche Wirklichkeiten*) in the mental life' (Dilthey), of the 'free and creative principle' at work in it (Bergson, James, H. Lotze), and of the constitution and inner unity of the mind. Above all, we are told that it does *not* possess properties such as we perceive in real objects; the psychic cannot be identified with anything else; it cannot be expressed in terms of quantity nor can it be treated objectively.

Next, the true world of mental life is revealed to us: 'the fact of consciousness in the sense of subjectivity as such'.

The functional psychology of Stumpf forms the introduction, while Brentano's theory of mental processes and of inner consciousness, Husserl's phenomenology and his theory of purposive (*intentionale*) experiences and Natorp's researches define the subject more precisely and elucidate the science of the ' proximate ' (*unmittelbar*).

The discussion becomes more and more subtle, the subject-matter more and more ethereal, till we find ourselves in the insidious atmosphere of Kant. At this point a slight uncertainty makes itself felt in the exposition.

The philosopher of Königsberg appears to dispute the fact that the subjective can be an object of cognition, an attitude which would cast doubts on the conclusions of the first part of the book. The author, however, believes that he can

' rescue the concept of the unitary stream of consciousness from Kant's attack, so as to reinstate the concept of the empirical ego, which in Kant's system threatens to resolve itself into the identity of a mere function ' (p. 223).

This closes the first part of the book.

The second part, which is considerably shorter, consists of an application of these conclusions to that aspect of the ego which concerns other egos outside itself. I might say that it contains the projection of the subject's own experiences on to another person. The theory of association and empathy is discussed and there is a lengthy consideration of our proximate ' understanding ' of other human beings by means of speech and outward demeanour, till the other personality emerges clear before us and we bring to bear upon it our metaphysical, ethical, historical systems, and so forth, in order to elucidate it.

' In all this we have still kept to the ground of General Psychology and we break off our inquiry exactly at the point where it passes into the realm of the actual practice of the empirical science of personality ' (p. 357).

Now this work exhibits a certain harmony and testifies to the spirit of Bergson. It is not surprising, therefore, that Binswanger in a parenthetical footnote makes statements which run directly counter to the results of psycho-analytical research. In the footnote to p. 46 he says :

' We may note here that at bottom " condensation " is in no way an active and secondary combining of separate ideas but represents the primary normal condition in the deeper strata of consciousness, and the conceptual " dissociation ", the separation of that which was originally closely united, is accomplished by a piece of intellectual work. When we speak of condensation we are thinking of the uniting or concentrating of that which has previously been separated, whilst in dream-life it is a question of a combination of things which have to be separated subsequently, i.e. by analysis. The conception held by the school of associationist psychology with reference to conscious life does, as Bergson justly remarks, turn everything topsy-turvy.'

Anyone who holds that the associationist psychology distorts the

true mental relations is following the footsteps of Goethe who rejected Newton's science of optics on the ground that it was torturing the delicate light with unnatural experiments. For light as it enters into the experience of a poet is something other than a physical object, and just so is it with psychology. In the crystal mirror of the intellect the mind loses all that is poetic, all its mysterious gleams of intuition, and becomes an object for science. The lover of humanity may shrink from this aspect of it, but never the scientist.

The author tries several times to introduce Freud into his historical account, but always only under the wing of some thinker of acknowledged standing, for instance, Bergson (p. 46), Schleiermacher (p. 268) and Nietzsche (p. 267). There is no lack of recognition of the Viennese scientist (pp. 303 and 352), but the conclusions at which he has arrived are ignored.

Ostensibly the book is an introduction to a psychology which includes the Freudian findings as well as others, but it does not appear to accomplish more than any other philosophical system embracing, as such systems do, the whole world. This point of view is, however, *toto cælo* different from that of Freud.

Systems of psychology are evidently doomed one and all to turn philosophic, as though the human intellect were unable long to tolerate the nakedness of empiricism. The tendency to neutralize psychoanalysis by an admixture of philosophy is unmistakable.

But the world-war with its insensate fury of destruction has shown only too clearly that the mind of man does not consist merely of heavenly vapours; and it is not by intuition that we arrive at the dangerous instincts which belong to the constitution of man.

Ph. Sarasin.

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The Social Philosophy of Instinct. By Charles Conant Josey, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Psychology, Dartmouth College. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York & London. Pp. 274. Price 8*s.* 6*d.*)

Professor Josey belongs to that group of American psychologists who hold that the concept of Instinct, so far from being as useful as is generally supposed, is of no real assistance for the understanding or control of human affairs, and by affording easy but worthless explanations of phenomena, the essential determinants of which are to be sought elsewhere, exercises a harmful influence on psychology and sociology. The trouble arises, he maintains, through instincts being regarded as *forces*; such forces are purely mythical. The notions to which they correspond are the lineal descendants of the idea that human conduct, in so far as it presents difficulties for comprehension, is due to the direct

intervention of spirits or of God, or else to god-implanted faculties concerning which no further account can be given. The evolutionists have replaced the influence of God or spirits by the hereditary transmission of the effects of ancestral experiences; instinctive actions, it is often held, can be much more intelligible when we regard them as repetitions or modifications of modes of actions which were acquired in former generations. But this new explanation, Dr. Josey maintains, is no more satisfactory than the earlier explanations which are now rejected. The appeal to phylogeny is in his opinion only another way of shelving the problems concerned. Its valuelessness can be demonstrated by the following dilemma:

'Either the behaviour in question is the result of similar conditions that aroused it in the ancestors or it is not. If the behaviour is due to the same conditions in both cases, obviously there is no need to make an appeal to phylogeny, since the conditions which excited the behaviour in phylogeny may be regarded as amply sufficient to arouse it in ontogeny. That is to say, living organisms react to the same situation in the same way and for the same reason that their ancestors did. Hence, the ancestors' responses may well be neglected.

'On the other hand, if the response is aroused by a different situation, or if the behaviour is not the same, it is obvious that we cannot explain the present behaviour in terms of the different behaviour of our ancestry, caused by different stimuli from those that now act on us' (p. 188).

Since, therefore, explanations in terms of ancestral experiences are useless, we must, on this view, confine ourselves to the experiences of the individual. It is only within the lifetime of the single individual that we may seek for the factors that determine his behaviour. In the case of a human being, it is particularly the interplay between the individual and his social environment that is important in this respect.

The utmost that heredity can do is to determine the limits within which we can respond to stimuli; our responses themselves are called forth by the environment; it is the environment that determines which of our innumerable potential responses shall actually be made. A knowledge of potential responses, such as is afforded by the doctrine of instincts, is of no assistance for the understanding or prediction of behaviour; is only by the (behaviouristic) study of the reactions of the individual to his environment that predictions can be made. From this point of view also the position may be stated in the form of a dilemma:

'Either instincts are common traits found in all members of a species, or they are not. If they are common, they can throw little light on the wide diversity of behaviour relative to any instinct that may be selected. If they are not common, or if they are regarded as varying in strength to such an extent that they can be used to account for the differences in behaviour, the only way we have of determining the strength of an instinct is by observing the behaviour of individuals in various circumstances. After having determined the strength of the instinct in this way, we can undoubtedly make predictions. But in this

case our predictions are really based on our observations of behaviour, instead of on the assumption of instincts. We are thus once more driven back to our behaviouristic attitude ' (p. 182).

It is obvious that Professor Josey's indictment of Instinct is a serious matter for psychologists, for the concept of instinct is one that is used by a multitude of writers who have approached the subject from many different points of view. More especially is it a matter of concern for psycho-analysts who have made wide use of the notion, and who are in the habit of thinking in terms of mental *forces* in a way that seems perilously near to that which Professor Josey deprecates.

It is true that psycho-analysts have also paid close attention to the relation of the individual to his environment (in one place, page 209, Professor Josey seems to regard them almost as his allies), but their attitude has been far removed from that of the behaviourists, in that their explanations have been given in terms of conations rather than in terms of inter-relation between organism and environment. Sooner or later the striking difference between the behaviouristic and the psycho-analytic points of view must become apparent, and it is worth while, therefore, to study Professor Josey's position in some detail.

Before dealing with the general question of the value or permissibility of the concept of mental forces, let us consider those important parts of Professor Josey's argument which are summarized in the two dilemmas contained in the above quotations.

As regards the first dilemma — that dealing with the appeal to phylogeny : it seems to the present reviewer that an equivocation is introduced by the substitution in the second sentence of the word ' same ' for the word ' similar ' in the first. The whole purpose of the argument that is combated in this passage lies in the fact that the ontogenetic and phylogenetic conditions are not the same but only similar ; and one of the most important problems for research in this connection is the determination of the degree and kind of similarity that exists between the two kinds of development. It is just here, too, that psycho-analysis is rendering invaluable assistance ; for it is showing some of the ways in which instincts may become related to different stimuli and directed to different ends. The idea of instinct implicit in Professor Josey's line of thought is that instincts are similar to reflexes in that they are qualitatively invariable and permanently connected with a particular stimulus. The psycho-analyst's conception of instinct is a very different one. For him instincts are sources of energy that can be directed in one way or another according to certain internal and external conditions ; for him the whole of mental development can be looked upon as a complex series of displacements of instinctive energy. In so far as psycho-analytic explanations throw light upon the process of mental development, it

is because they look upon certain phases of behaviour as manifestations of the same instinctive energy. For the psycho-analyst, therefore, it is quite untrue to say that 'if the response is aroused by a different situation, or if the behaviour is not the same . . . we cannot explain the present behaviour in the terms of the different behaviour . . . caused by different stimuli than those that now act on us'. The psycho-analyst's success in dealing with mental development is, on the contrary, due to just such a process. Even Professor Josey's *reductio ad absurdum* of deriving sky-scrapers from hunting (p. 188) is scarcely more astonishing than certain forms of displacement for the existence of which psycho-analysis has afforded serious evidence. If, therefore, we understand instinct in the psycho-analytic sense, we may escape from this second horn of the dilemma. By implicitly adopting a different view of instinct to that which psycho-analysts adopt, Professor Josey has, we think, become guilty of a subtle *ignoratio elenchi*. In this respect, too, i.e. with regard to the reversible and educible character of instinctive responses, the psycho-analytic idea of instinct merely emphasizes a view which is held by the vast majority of modern psychologists—a view which has been well brought out by McDougall in a recent article dealing with the criticisms of instinct ('The Use and Abuse of Instinct in Social Psychology', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1922).

Let us now pass to the second of the above dilemmas. Here we would maintain that it is not strictly true that if instincts

> 'are regarded as varying in strength to such an extent that they can be used to account for differences in behaviour, the *only* way we have of determining the strength of an instinct is by observing the *behaviour* of individuals in different circumstances. . . . In this case our predictions are really based on our observation of behaviour instead of on assumption of instincts'.

In the course of a psycho-analysis, for example, we learn more from the patient's description of past and present thoughts, emotions, and desires than we do from actual descriptions or observations of behaviour. Useful as these latter sources of information often are, it is safe to say that if Freud and his followers had confined themselves to the methods of behaviourism, their contributions to psychology and medicine would have been far less illuminating than they have actually proved to be. The symptoms, outward and visible, of conversion hysteria, for instance, had been carefully observed and studied by psycho-pathologists of other schools. It was when Freud began to study intensively the mental significance of these symptoms, to consider them in terms of memories, emotions, and wishes, that our understanding and control of these symptoms became enormously increased. The history of experimental psychology seems to convey a similar lesson. The older, more definitely objective methods have during the last fifteen years or so come to be supplemented

more and more by an appeal to carefully controlled introspection on the lines first introduced by Külpe and his followers of the Würzburg school; and it has become more and more manifest that such introspection is often of extreme value, both as to affording assistance in the interpretation of objective results, and as illuminating certain dark corners of mental life which have hitherto proved unamenable to objective control.

In both psycho-analysis and experimental psychology our knowledge of individual differences in behaviour has been enormously increased by the use of introspection. Psycho-analysis has in this way thrown much light upon such differences as are usually called 'instinctive', and it is tending more and more to show that, even if we allow the utmost influence to early environmental factors, there still remain large differences between the character of one individual and another, which can only be accounted for in terms of innate constitution.

Turning now to the more general position that such concepts as instincts are inadmissible because they postulate mythical 'forces', we may note first of all that it is possible to some extent profitably to use the idea of instincts without assuming that the instincts are sources of energy. To assign certain portions of an organism's activities to certain instincts may represent only an attempt at classification. One of the first tasks of psychological science, when confronted with the immensely important and complex phenomena of the conative life of human beings, is to make a provisional classification of these phenomena, and the various schemes of instincts that have been proposed represent primarily such provisional classification, and therefore correspond to an essential stage in the progress of the science. It is true that there is as yet no general agreement as to what is the most satisfactory classification; but this only shows the backwardness of the science, not the mistakenness of the attempt to classify.

Further, even if the idea of instincts is brought intimately into connection with the notion of energy, it is still not necessary that the instincts should themselves be regarded as so many sources or reservoirs of energy. McDougall, for instance ('The Sources and Direction of Psychophysical Energy', *American Journal of Insanity*, 1913), has suggested that the individual instincts may best be regarded as separate *channels* for the discharge of energy, being more closely related to structure than to function.

Doubtless, however, in the majority of cases instincts *are* regarded as in some way or other corresponding to energy or forces; this is, for example, the case in psycho-analysis, and it therefore becomes important to consider what degree of truth there may be in Professor Josey's attack on this view of instinct. Professor Josey tells us that we should not interpret

behaviour in terms of energy possessed by the organism, but in terms of 'the relation the organism sustains to its environment'. The belief in forces having an existence independent of the situation in which they manifest themselves, is, he tells us, the persistence of a point of view which has been given up in the physical sciences.

> 'Formerly physicists . . . were led to posit in a falling stone a force which impelled it to seek its proper place. Yet obviously the force manifested in the fall of the stone is a product of the situation, and cannot be used to account for the phenomenon. That is to say, given a stone placed in a certain position, it will fall and with its fall force will be generated. It does not fall, however, because of the force. Rather there is force because it falls' (p. 8).

But is not this a gross misrepresentation of the conceptions of physics? The laws of motion, for example, are formulated in terms of tendencies, not of actually observed 'situations'. If physical scientists were to confine themselves to the consideration of actual 'situations', they would have no use for the concept of potential as distinguished from that of kinetic energy; they would not conceive of gravitation as the universally and perpetually operative attraction of matter on matter, but as a form of energy which exists only in certain situations, such as that of the falling stone. The widest and most fundamental of all physical generalizations—that of the conservation of energy—could not be made, and physics would be only a series of independent observations and measurements, without principles of any kind. But it is just the erection of such principles dealing with permanent and universal tendencies that characterizes the advanced sciences; while the absence of such principles in psychology bears witness to its relatively very backward state—a fact to which Professor Spearman has recently drawn attention in his *Nature of Intelligence and Principles of Cognition*. Now the ideas concerning 'instincts' conceived as something in the nature of permanent tendencies to action, are just such attempts at the formulation of certain principles in the psychology of conation—preliminary and inaccurate attempts, be it granted, but the best that the science has to offer in its present undeveloped state. If we confine the psychologist to a study of observed 'situations', will he not find this as stultifying to his science as the physicist would do? Is there any reason why the concept of the conservation of energy should not be as justifiable and useful in psychology as in physics? It is true, of course, that the 'instincts' only *manifest* themselves in certain 'situations', but precisely the same is true of physical forces, such as gravitation. The work of the psycho-analysts has opened up the possibility of making good use of the concept of the conservation of energy in the study of conation. It is conceivable that in the future the nature and transformation of an individual's instinctive energy may be measured with a considerable degree of accuracy, much as with the help of 'tests'

' intelligence ' can be measured now with a precision that seemed utterly impossible thirty years ago. Indeed, it is not impossible that some day psychologists may co-operate with biologists in the analysis of human conations into Mendelian unit characters. But work of this description would seem to demand imperatively a resort to the conception of permanent tendencies which can hardly be expressed except in terms of ' force ' or ' energy '.

Professor Josey gives greater plausibility to his contention that behaviour can profitably be considered solely in terms of relations between organism and environment by two significant omissions from his general considerations about instinct. In the first place, he fails to deal adequately with the analogy between mental and bodily development. It is true that he refers to certain striking results in the way of experimental modification of development by change of environment in the case of certain organisms, and bids us draw the conclusion that if an abnormal environment can thus cause abnormal development, the normal environment is no less responsible for the normal development. But the very surprise that such results arouse emphasizes the fact that the germs usually develop into individuals closely resembling the parent organisms, even when the environment is changed, so long as the change is not so great as to prevent all development. The whole of the work on heredity points, moreover, to the inheritance of certain structural characters which distinguish different stocks for many generations, though the environment may be the same for all the stocks concerned. It is natural to assume that there are certain corresponding characters upon the mental side. And the evidence that is so far available strongly corroborates this view (see, for instance, Burt : ' The Inheritance of Mental Characters ', *Eugenics Review*, 1912).

The other omission is that Professor Josey does not deal at all with what some modern psychologists have termed the ' appetitive ' aspect of instincts, that aspect of the instincts in virtue of which they (or certain of them, at all events) may be regarded as responses to stimuli within the organism, and not to stimuli from the environment. Recent work upon the functions of the ductless gland is, of course, bringing this aspect of instinctive activity into considerable prominence, and the conception of internally aroused instincts is one that plays a not unimportant part in analytic thought. From this point of view it is much more difficult to consider behaviour as determined solely by the relation of the organism to its environment than when dealing with the ' reactive ' aspect of the instincts, to which Professor Josey principally confines his attention.

To argue, as we have here done, that the concept of the instincts is a justifiable and useful one, is not, of course, to deny that this concept can be misused. It is so misused in cases where mere reference of any

piece of behaviour to an instinct is regarded as sufficient explanation, when in reality the causes of the behaviour in question are capable of further analysis. The concept of instinct should again not lead to the neglect of the individual's reactions to environmental stimuli, but rather to a more intensive study of the different ways in which instinct manifests itself under varying environmental conditions. Least of all may instinct be taken as constituting in itself a moral reaction. In this matter to which considerable space is devoted in this book, psycho-analysts will for the most part agree with Professor Josey; for they have come to regard moral development as a process in which the more primitive instinctual manifestations are so modified as to become of greater social value. It is only in so far as a too harsh attempt at the suppression of instinctual gratification leads to neurosis instead of to sublimation, that psycho-analysis lends any support to the upholders of the moral value of the instincts.

In conclusion, we may say that, although we are little inclined to agree with the main thesis of the book, it nevertheless deserves attention as a forcible statement of a position which appears to be gaining ground in some quarters, and which is not without able supporters among American psychologists.

J. C. F.

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The Sexual Life of Man. By Dr. Placzek. Translation revised by W. C. Rivers, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., D.P.H. (John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, London. Pp. xv + 233. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*)

So long as the author is content to follow the older writers in his descriptive sections, dealing with the anatomy and physiology of the sexual organs or with sexual aberrations, he is a useful guide. Those engaged in psycho-analytic practice may find it useful to have a brief descriptive catalogue of the commonly recognized sexual perversions. It is a pity that the author did not keep to the opinion expressed in the preface, that psycho-analytic interpretations are not worth criticism. His criticisms, though vigorous in language, are not very illuminating. Dealing with the sexual life of the child, he remarks that

'onanistic movements in children do not constitute onanism except in very exceptional cases'.

Again:

'The alleged universal incestuous inclination of the child is absolutely unfounded; still, there is no doubt that parental, brotherly, and sisterly love may be sub-consciously erotic.'

It is phantastic of Freud, he considers, to attribute all functional neuroses to the 'evil influence of sexual trauma'. It is odd how many

writers there are who have never learnt to read. Dr. Rivers, who is responsible for a good translation, essays, in an occasional footnote, to tone down the ' too sweeping statements ' of the author about psycho-analysis.

M. D. Eder.

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Contraception (Birth Control). A Manual for the Medical and Legal Professions. By Marie Carmichael Stopes, D.Sc., Ph.D. [with introductory notes by other authors]. (John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, London, 1923. Pp. xxiv + 416, 4 plates. Price 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Without doubt this is the best book on Contraception that has appeared. Its description of the various devices employed is full, and each one is discussed at length, though not always in a critical spirit. This may perhaps be explained, though not excused, by the author's apostolic attitude to the subject—it is a Cause, and as such must be defended.

In a manual for the medical and legal professions the author should give her readers more detailed observations on which to base conclusions. She is quite right when she says ;

' proper study of contraceptive methods may bring to light features of general interest to all branches of medicine ' (p. 156),

but such features will only be brought to light if the study is properly critical. As an example of the author's method, we may take this statement :

' There is no doubt whatever that some fully sexed and roused women do experience the *interlocking of the glans penis with the cervical canal* ' (p. 139) [Reviewer's italics].

This seems highly improbable in view of the fact that no dilator fibres have been observed in the cervix, that dilatation under anæsthetics takes twenty minutes when rigid metal dilators are used, and that even then the lumen is only large enough to admit a finger. The partners to the act, ' when fully sexed and roused ', are in a state when accurate observations are most unlikely. Further, the high threshold for stimulation usually found in the cervix must suddenly be changed to a low threshold if the author's statement is correct, and a new factor would have to be reckoned with in our genital theories.

Another novelty is a hint at a correlation between the hydrogen-ion concentration of the vaginal secretions and the intellectual development of the individual. Thus :

' The reactions of the vaginal secretions in different women, and in the same woman at different times, vary enormously. Roughly, I class them for my own consideration into three main groups : (1) Normally weak acid plus temporarily alkaline (often associated with fairly intellectual and yet fertile type). (2) Excessively acid plus insufficiently alkaline (often associated with " brainy " and

ascetic type, tendency to infertility). (3) Weakly acid plus strongly alkaline (often associated with unintellectual, fertile type. If extreme, what I have called in lectures the " incorrigibly fertile type "). The balances between alkalinity and acidity are the resultant, of course, of the persistent vaginal exudations and the fluids specially secreted under the stimulus of coitus ' (p. 60).

In support of this interesting hypothesis no evidence is adduced.

Again, the author states that the male ejaculation is absorbed from the vagina (pp. 16, 39, 72, 76, 207, etc.), and its absorption is of benefit to the woman. This is not supported by a trace of evidence, and yet these three hypotheses and others are made the basis of judgment on the various devices employed. Such considerations, which are not interesting to the advocate, may be regarded as important by the physician.

Turning from the physiological to the psychological aspects of contraception, we may say at once that the book is admirably suited to a lay public, the treatment is tactful though sentimental in places and is very seldom out of focus, but the fact that over one-third of the book is devoted to polemics shows the author to have the patience and intuition of a reformer. In a chapter ' Some Objections to Contraception Answered ', she says :

' For the purpose of the present chapter, one may take it that, in spite of my recent efforts in this direction, there still remains a very strong misapprehension that scientific and medically advisable methods of birth control are in some ways displeasing to whichever Deity the individual believes in and are counter to the teachings of Christianity ' (p. 229).

Analysis of ideas of Divine displeasure always reveals human secrets ; as scientists it is more profitable for us first to probe the secrets. If a Cause which promises great benefits to humanity is not taken up on all sides with enthusiasm, some deep-rooted, secret (i.e. unconscious) objections must be looked for. Psycho-analysis has this contribution to offer to contraception—the detection of these inaccessible deep-rooted resistances. We can take an instance from the book :

' It appears to me that the very terrifying warnings against " onanism " translated from the Latin into French by Tissot may still be traced as influences colouring the popular ideas on the " sinfulness " of birth control owing to the confusion created by the differing uses of the word " onanism " ' (p. 259).

This explanation obviously does not strike deep enough, and it seems more probable that the prejudice to birth control arises from conflicts centring about masturbation. The latter practice is begun before the individual has any need of contraceptives; it is universal, whereas contraception is restricted; most important of all,[1] the painfully acquired inhibitions to the sexual instinct learnt in childhood so influence the ego

[1] The points following are taken with modifications from Flügel's ' Biological Basis of Sexual Repression ', *Brit. J. of Psych., Med. Sect.*, 1920, Vol. I, p. 225.

that it requires under the dominance of the sense of guilt in the unconscious a ' natural ' obstacle to sexual pleasure—reproduction must not be divorced from sexuality. But, apart from this important consideration, we find—again in the unconscious—a primitive identification of the fertility of human beings with the fertility of animals and plants which serve for food, a narcissistic identification of the Self with the family and the community which would be wounded (castrated) by any limitation. Perhaps, not least important, birth control is regarded as an expression of (unconscious) child-hatred on the part of the parents, all methods of contraception being equivalent to abortion or infanticide.

As Dr. Stopes' books require an edition every year, we hope that polemics will shortly give place to the results of research.

John Rickman.

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The Primary Problems of Medical Psychology. By Dr. Ch. de Montet, Professor of Medical Psychology at the University of Lausanne. Translated by A. Newbold. (John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, Ltd., 1923. Pp. 142. Price *7s. 6d.*)

In the light of modern psychological teaching, this is a work which can hardly be treated seriously. It is true that old and elementary psychological principles are presented in a fairly simple way, but the teaching of Freud is almost completely ignored. The author endeavours to show that facts cannot exist independently of consciousness. In discussing independent experiences, such as dream and hallucinatory life, we learn that none of these manifestations are really independent, as they are incorporated in further associations. Psycho-analysis is dismissed in a few words in the last chapter. As an example, the following extract from page 133 will suffice:

> ' And so, when the psycho-analyst succeeds, it is not at all because of the analysis, but because he practises upon his patient, gives him training exercises, generally of a social nature, which first develop the personal relations between the doctor and the patient, and afterwards between the patient and his fellow-men.'

Some obscurities may be due to errors in translation, as, for instance, on page 69.

Robert M. Riggall.

*

' Suggestion ' and Common Sense. By R. Allan Bennett, M.D. Lond., M.R.C.P., 1922. (John Wright & Sons, Ltd., Bristol. Pp. 105. Price *6s.*)

Seeing that the author in his Preface, apropos of a remark made to him by Dr. Mercier twenty years ago, says, ' So ever since I have shunned

Psychology, and clung to that which is good, and these artless pages are the result', and then heads three chapters out of five, 'Psychology and Organic Life', 'Psychology and Disease', 'Suggestion', it is perfectly clear that these chapters will have very little in them 'that is good', and may well be described as 'artless'.

The reader seeks in vain for anything original or even helpful in the book, but only finds the usual commonplace remarks in which this type of book generally abounds.

Douglas Bryan.

*

A Manual of Psychotherapy for Practitioners and Students. By Henry Yellowlees, O.B.E., F.R.P.S. (Glas.), M.R.C.P. (Edin.), D.P.M. (Lond.). (Published by A. C. Black, Ltd., London, 1923. Pp. 247. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*)

Dr. Yellowlees writes well; he has the gift, or rather art, of putting a highly technical subject into terms which can be readily understood by those to whom the book is especially addressed. Although a very wide field is covered, the reader is constantly reminded of the fact that only the fringe of a vast and technical subject can be touched upon in a work of this character. Throughout, the main tenets of the Freudian position are held as valid, although in the chapter on Auto-suggestion and Suggestion Theory a verdict of not proven is given.

The chapters on Mental Mechanism and Psychological Theory give the beginner a clear and non-technical description of the essential hypotheses. In discussing methods of Psychotherapy, the position taken is undoubtedly sound, that Psycho-analysis is for the expert and for the expert only; Suggestion, Hypnosis, Persuasion, may be used by the general practitioner who has devoted himself to a reasonably adequate study of the subject. A timely warning is given that cases which at first sight seem to need nothing more than some simple treatment by suggestion or surface analysis may soon prove under treatment to present problems which can only be dealt with by the specialist. For Dr. Yellowlees suggestion is the main and most potent weapon in the hands of the psychotherapist. To quote his own words,

'the student will at least do well to remember that in suggestion we have probably the most powerful and readily available single weapon known to medicine. No occasion is too trivial for its use, and it is hard to reach the limits of its possibilities.'

However true this may be to experience, the student must also be reminded that psychological autonomy is the ideal aimed for in all good psychotherapy, and suggestion unwisely used may bind as well as loose.

Maurice B. Wright.

*

Primitive Mentality. By Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (Professor at the Sorbonne). Authorized Translation by Lilian A. Clare. (Allen & Unwin, London, 1923. Pp. 458. Price 16*s.* net.)

Those who enjoyed the author's *Les Fonctions Mentales dans les Sociétés Inférieures* on its appearance in 1910 have regretted that his absorption in the study of ethics and history should have hindered the development of this fascinating theme. The present volume is really a continuation of the first, and applies the theses of the latter by studying in some detail the conception of causation among primitive peoples. As in the former book, the author insists on the complete and instantaneous identification underlying what appears to be a double process of perception and inference, which is exactly what analysts find to hold good of unconscious processes in general (Freud's ' primary process ').

Neither the technique of life of primitive communities (tools, cultivation of animals and soil, etc.) nor such complex organizations as totemism are dealt with here, the main theme of the book being the savage's belief in unseen powers and his ideas on causation in such matters as illness, death, birth, and the like. The author dwells at length on the extent to which savages live in what he calls a mystical world, one peopled with real though unseen agents and forces, most often of an evil nature. The part played by wizards and witches and the concept of *mana* are also fully considered. It is evident that the peoples he describes have an unwonted belief in the reality of psychological processes, one unusual in civilization except among pathological types; this once more confirms the archaic natures of neurotic reactions.

The author takes throughout a psychological view of the phenomena he deals with, and therefore would be out of fashion among the more recent ' ethnological ' school with whom human motives are almost confined to the Ancient Egyptians, other people being merely servile imitators of their betters. Not that he shows any familiarity with modern psychology, and it is evident that he has not heard of psycho-analysis. None the less, we cordially recommend the reading of the book to every analyst. He will find there not only a number of fertile suggestions (e.g. on the greater strength of the social bond among savages), but a wealth of material on such topics as fear of ancestors and ghosts, relation of death wishes to evil happenings, belief in psychical reality and omnipotence of thought, and others of similar import to the study of the unconscious.

E. J.

*

Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism. By Maurice H. Farbridge, M.A. (Kegan Paul & Co., London, 1923. Pp. 288. Price 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The word symbolism is here used in its widest sense, and no distinc-

tion is drawn between the numerous conscious processes such as metaphor, allegory, etc., and true symbolism of unconscious ideas. We thus read of various objects 'symbolizing' abstract ideas, such as joy, friendship, misfortune, and so on.

Nevertheless, the book is an extremely valuable one when regarded purely as a collection of material, for it is put together by a scholar of the subject. Although primarily a collection of 'symbolic' examples occurring in the Bible, there are numerous useful additions made from other Semitic sources, as well as Babylonian and Egyptian.

It is thus one of the increasing number of books for which psycho-analysts are deeply grateful, for a mass of otherwise inaccessible material is here co-ordinated in a way that will be of considerable assistance to those making studies of anthropological symbolism.

E. J.

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Milton Agonistes. A Metaphysical Criticism. By E. H. Visiak. (A. M. Philpot, Ltd., London, 1922. Pp. 104.)

An anagogical interpretation of some of Milton's work which appears to have neither literary nor scientific value. There are a few references to psycho-analysis, but no indication that the author has comprehended what he may have read.

E. J.

*

Die geschichtliche Personlichkeit Jesu. By Dr. Emil Jung. (Deutschland Verlag, Munich, 1924. Pp. 352.)

This life of Christ is written on fairly conservative lines, though it treats the historical personality as a purely human figure. In a previous work (INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS, Vol. III, p. 97), the author maintained the thesis that Jesus was the son of a Roman soldier. The book closes with a curious exordium to a Christian reunion in Germany which is to dominate the world.

E. J.

*

The Doctor Looks at Literature. By Joseph Collins, M.D., New York. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1923. Pp. 317. Price 12*s.* 6*d.*)

Dr. Collins invites the reader to look, over his shoulder, at Dostoievsky, James Joyce, Marcel Proust, Barbellion, D. H. Lawrence, and other writers of the day. In so far as he promises nothing, there seems little justification for complaint. But his American publishers unwisely caused to be inscribed on the jacket of the book this tempting advertisement: 'Some

modern minds turned inside out'. The minds are conscientiously pawed over, but any revelations concerning them the astute reader must discover in the quoted extracts.

There is no ordered attack on psycho-analysis in this book, although the author takes every opportunity to disparage Freud and his scientific and literary followers. Fortunately his dicta are of the sort which could influence no reader who is interested in distinguishing between fact and prejudice. He claims that 'Freudian psychology denies the reality of any higher life'; that 'Psycho-analysis—as a therapeutic measure—has not been very useful'; and twice refers to Freud as 'the Austrian Mystic'. He also pays Freud a gratifying, because inadvertent, tribute when he writes:

> 'The discovery in 1866 of the "subliminal consciousness" of the psychologist (i.e. the "unconscious mind" of the psycho-analyst) was called by William James the greatest discovery in modern psychology.'

Anyone who knows Carpenter's *Principles of Mental Physiology*, and who has any sure understanding, however limited, of 'the unconscious mind of the psycho-analyst', will appreciate Dr. Collins's facility of identification.

When one reads an explanatory parenthesis, to the effect that a certain character 'effected a transformation' (i.e. a 'transference': the author's sarcasm thus becoming the reader's irony), and a reference to '"sublimations", such as "taboos"', and similar pieces of misinformation, and then stumbles upon the author's assurance that 'a child can grasp' the principles of Freudian psychology—then the reader's attitude changes. He becomes interested in 'looking at' the doctor. Although the latter speaks from oracular heights, he is exceedingly visible.

Eleanor Chilton.

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION

EDITED BY THE

GENERAL SECRETARY, DR. KARL ABRAHAM

I. *Announcement by the General Executive*

The General Executive has sent the following circular to the Presidents of the Branch Societies :

LONDON AND BERLIN,
December 23, 1923.

To the Committees of the Branch Societies within the International Psycho-Analytical Association.

In accordance with the decision come to at the Seventh Congress the next Congress of the International Psycho-Analytical Association will take place in Salzburg (Austria) from the 21st to the 23rd of April. (The 21st of April is Easter Monday.)

The proceedings will occupy three days. Since it appeared at the last Congress that the programme was too full and those present were over-fatigued, the Executive has decided (1) to hold no meeting on the afternoon of the second day, and (2) to limit the number of papers to fifteen in all. The programme will thus be as follows :

First Day	*Second Day*	*Third Day*
Morning, Five Papers.	Five Papers.	Five Papers.
Afternoon, Symposium.	(Free).	Business Meeting.

Speakers are requested to give notice of their papers to the undersigned Secretary before February 15. The subjects dealt with should be essentially of a scientific or practical importance ; communications of a purely clinical nature should be excluded on account of the limited time at the disposal of the Congress. Speakers are requested to give a brief summary of their papers when they send in their notice to the Secretary. Half an hour will be allotted to each speaker.

Should notice of more than fifteen papers be received, it will be necessary to make a selection. In this case, in order to ensure the greatest possible impartiality of choice, the Executive will submit their programme to the Presidents of the Dutch, Swiss and Hungarian Societies.

The subject of discussion for the afternoon of the first day is that proposed by Professor Freud at the Berlin Congress as a theme for a prize essay, which has not, however, been attempted: 'The Relation between psycho-analytical Technique and psycho-analytical Theory'.

The Executive will endeavour to obtain reports from suitable rapporteurs. Presidents or Secretaries of Societies are requested to communicate this notice to their members.

Ernest Jones, M.D., *President of the Association.*
Dr. K. Abraham, *General Secretary.*

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II. *Reports of the Branch Societies*

The report of the Indian Psycho-Analytical Society arrived too late to be included in this number. We have, however, for the first time a quarterly report from the Russian Psycho-Analytical Society, whose provisional admission to our Association was announced recently.

BERLIN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1923

September 11, 1923. Social Evening. Dr. K. Abraham gave an account of his impressions of the Seventh International Psychological Congress held at Oxford from July 25 to August 1, 1923.

September 25, 1923. Dr. F. A. Loofs (guest of the Society): A case of schizophrenia.

October 2, 1923. Continuation of the discussion on Dr. Loofs' paper.

October 9, 1923. Short communications.

a. Dr. Fenichel (guest of the Society): Remarks on the analysis of an obsessional patient.

b. Dr. Radó (guest of the Society): A transitory conversion-symptom in the female genitals.

c. Frau Vera Schmidt (guest of the Society): Report of a Children's Home run on psycho-analytical lines in Moscow.

October 30, 1923. Dr. Radó (guest of the Society) and Dr. Sachs: Problems in Freud's *Das Ich und das Es*; (1) The structure of the psyche and its genesis (Sachs); (2) Topographical dynamics. Clinical notes (Radó).

November 6, 1923. Short communications.

a. Dr. Alexander: Pairs and series of dreams.

b. Frau Dr. Deutsch (guest of the Society): A contribution to the psychology of sport.

c. Dr. Bálint (guest of the Society): Accumulated errors of speech.

d. Frau Bálint (guest of the Society) : A South Californian myth-cycle.

e. Dr. K. Abraham : Two new sexual theories met with in children.

f. Demonstration of drawings acquired through Dr. Abraham, Dr. Alexander and Frau Dr. Deutsch.

g. Dr. Boehm : On the problem of the concomitance of two forms of disease, reference being made to Freud's notes on a case of paranoia. (*Sammlung kleiner Schriften.* Dritte Folge.)

November 13, 1923. Short communications.

a. Dr. Hárnik : Clinical contribution to Dr. Gross's remarks on the psychology of the secret.

b. Dr. K. Abraham : Remarks on the history of a pathological swindler.

November 24, 1923. Frau Dr. Benedek (Leipzig ; guest of the Society): Evolution of the social organization.

At the Business Meeting Frau Dr. Med. Therese Benedek was elected to membership.

December 4, 1923. Short communications.

a. Cavendish Moxon : Symbolism of games of ball ; on account of old Mexican games and analysis of their symbolism.

b. Dr. K. Abraham : Symbolism of the house, in particular of building new houses. (The new house symbolizing a strange woman in contradistinction to the mother and also a symbol of the human embryo.)

c. Dr. Simmel : A dream containing the full Œdipus complex.

d. Dr. Simonson : A play on words in a dream.

e. Dr. Fenichel : Errors of speech and of writing illustrated.

f. Dr. Hárnik : Clinical notes on the repetition-compulsion.

December 15, 1923. Dr. Radó (guest of the Society) : The meaning of Christmas presents. (Preliminary communication.)

At the Business Meeting Frau Alice Bálint was elected to membership.

During this quarter Dr. Müller-Braunschweig gave a course of lectures at the Lessing-Hochschule, which were attended by about one hundred and twenty persons. The course was entitled : ' Introduction to Psycho-Analysis,' and the lectures as follows : (1) The unconscious ; (2) Parapraxes ; (3) Dreams ; (4) The instincts ; (5) The psychoneuroses.

The lectures at the Policlinic announced for the autumn of 1923 were well attended.

For the first quarter of 1924 the Society announces a further series of lectures and courses of lectures at the Policlinic, to be given by Dr. K. Abraham, Frau Dr. Deutsch, Dr. Eitingon, Dr. Liebermann, Dr. Radó, Dr. Sachs, and Dr. Simmel.

List of Members

1. Dr. Karl Abraham (*President*), Berlin-Grunewald, Bismarck-Allee 14.
2. Dr. Franz Alexander, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Ludwigkirchplatz 9 a.
3. Dr. Felix Böhm (*Treasurer*), Berlin W. 50, Rankestrasse 20.
4. Dr. Max Eitingon (*Secretary*), Berlin W. 10, Rauchstrasse 4.
5. Dr. Rudolf Förster, Hamburg, Parkallee 42.
6. Dr. Georg Groddeck, Baden-Baden, Werderstrasse 14.
7. Frau Dr. Klara Happel, Frankfurt am Main, Bethmannstrasse 12.
8. Dr. Jenö Hárnik, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Ludwigkirchplatz 12.
9. Frau Dr. Karen Horney, Berlin-Zehlendorf-M., Soph.-Charlottenstr. 15.
10. Frau Melanie Klein, Berlin W. 50, Augsburgerstr. 47, Pension Stössinger.
11. Dr. Heinrich Körber, Berlin W. 15, Meinekestrasse 7.
12. Dr. Hans Liebermann, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Trautenaustrasse 18.
13. Frau Dr. Josine Müller, Berlin-Schmargendorf, Helgolandstrasse 1.
14. Dr. Karl Müller, Berlin-Schmargendorf, Helgolandstrasse 1.
15. Dr. Hans Sachs, Berlin-Charlottenburg, Mommsenstrasse 7.
16. Dr. Emil Simonson, Berlin-Halensee, Georg-Wilhelm-Strasse 2.
17. Dr. Ernst Simmel, Berlin-Grunewald, Kaspar-Theyss-Strasse 9.
18. Fräulein Dr. Anna Smeliansky, Berlin W. 35, Potsdamerstrasse 29.
19. Frau Dr. Margarete Stegmann, Dresden A, Sidonienstrasse 18.
20. Dr. Ulrich Vollrath, Stadtarzt, Fürstenwalde a. Spree.
21. Dr. Georg Wanke, Friedrichroda in Thüringen, Gartenstrasse 14.
22. Dr. W. Wittenberg, München, Elisabethstrasse 17.

Associate Members

23. Frau Alice Bálint, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Jenaerstrasse 20.
24. Frau Dr. med. Therese Benedek, Leipzig, Emilienstrasse 2.
25. Cand. med. Wilhelm Rohr, Berlin N, Lettumstrasse 18.
26. Cand. med. Walter Schmideberg, Berlin W, Rauchstrasse 4.
27. Fräulein Ada Schott, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Fasanenstrasse 43.

Honorary Member

Dr. Alexander Ferenczi, Budapest.

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BRITISH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1923

October 3, 1923. Annual General Meeting of Members.

The following Officers of the Society were re-elected for the ensuing year :—

President : Dr. Ernest Jones.

Hon. Treasurer : Dr. W. H. B. Stoddart.

Hon. Secretary : Dr. Douglas Bryan.

Mr. J. C. Flügel was re-elected a Member of the Council.

The following Associate Members were elected Members of the Society: Mrs. Isaacs, Dr. A. C. Wilson, Dr. Torrance Thomson, Mr. J. Strachey, Mrs. Strachey, Miss E. Sharpe.

Dr. H. E. Davison had resigned from the Society. Dr. C. McWatters and Dr. Jyotirmay Roy resign from the Society in virtue of their transference to the Indian Psycho-Analytical Society.

Dr. M. D. Eder was elected an Associate Member of the Society.

The Secretary reported that the Society now consisted of twenty-three Members, twenty-three Associate Members, and three Honorary Members; forty-nine in all. Thirteen Meetings of Members and Associate Members, and five Meetings of Members had been held during the year.

The following resolution was carried:

'That a committee be constituted to organize, supervise, and co-ordinate courses of lectures on psycho-analysis; and that members or associate members contemplating giving such a course are expected to consult with this committee. This resolution is not to apply to lectures given in the course of official duties or in response to invitation from educational institutions.'

October 17, 1923. Dr. Jones reported that the committee for organizing lectures, etc., had met, and that they suggested that a course of lectures should be given under the auspices of the Society; the course to consist of twelve lectures, six on the Theory of Psycho-Analysis by Dr. James Glover, and six on the Practice of Psycho-Analysis by Dr. Ernest Jones, and to be for medical men and medical students, though in certain specific instances non-medical persons might be admitted.

Miss Mary Chadwick: Notes on the acquisition of knowledge.

The paper was an attempt to trace the origin of the desire to acquire knowledge from the child's wish to satisfy his or her sexual curiosity.

November 7, 1923. Dr. E. Miller: Mythology and dreams.

The paper was an attempt to show the fundamental relationship between mythology and dreams.

November 21, 1923. Short communications.

December 5, 1923. Mr. J. C. Flügel: Polyphallic symbolism and the castration complex.

Examples of polyphallic symbolism from classical mythology were quoted. Explanation of the male and female polyphallic figures. Relation of polyphallic symbolism to scoptophilia. What polyphallic symbolism serves, and its probable cognitive sources.

The following new Associate Members were elected: Dr. Hamblin, Smith, Dr. G. W. Pailthorpe, and Dr. W. Eddison.

Douglas Bryan,
Hon. Secretary.

List of Members

1. Dr. Douglas Bryan (*Hon. Secretary*), 72 Wimpole Street, London, W.1.
2. Mr. Cyril Burt, 30 Princess Road, Regent's Park, London, N.W.1.
3. Dr. Estelle Maude Cole, 12 Weymouth Court, Weymouth Street, London, W.1.
4. Mr. J. C. Flügel (*Member of Council*), 11 Albert Road, Regent's Park, London, N.W.1.
5. Dr. D. Forsyth, 9 Harley Street, London, W.1.
6. Dr. E. Glover, 6 Bentinck Street, London, W.1.
7. Dr. J. Glover, 26 Mecklenburg Square, London, W.C.1.
8. Mrs. Susan Isaacs, 53 Hunter Street, London, W.C.1.
9. Dr. Ernest Jones (*President*), 81 Harley Street, London, W.1.
10. Miss Barbara Low, 13 Guilford Street, London, W.C.1.
11. Dr. T. W. Mitchell, Hadlow, Tonbridge, Kent.
12. Dr. Stanford Read, 11 Weymouth Street, London, W.1.
13. Dr. John Rickman, 26 Devonshire Place, London, W.1.
14. Dr. R. M. Riggall, 31 Wimpole Street, London, W.1.
15. Mrs. Riviere, 10 Nottingham Terrace, London, N.W.1.
16. Dr. Vaughan Sawyer, 131 Harley Street, London, W.1.
17. Miss E. Sharpe, 16 Gordon Street, London, W.C.1.
18. Dr. W. H. B. Stoddart (*Hon. Treasurer*), Harcourt House, Cavendish Square, London, W.1.
19. Mr. James Strachey, 41 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.
20. Mrs. James Strachey, 41 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.
21. Dr. H. Torrance Thomson, 13 Lansdowne Crescent, Edinburgh.
22. Dr. A. C. Wilson, 27 Nottingham Place, London, W.1.
23. Dr. Maurice Wright, 86 Brook Street, London, W.1.

Associate Members

1. Dr. Mary Barkas, 46 Connaught Street, London, W.2.
2. Dr. W. H. Brend, 14 Bolingbroke Grove, Wandsworth Common, London, S.W.
3. Dr. Josephine Brown, Pan's Field, Headley, Hants.
4. Dr. Warburton Brown, 152 Harley Street, London, W.1.
5. Miss Mary Chadwick, 6 Guilford Place, London, W.C.1.
6. Dr. M. Culpin, Meads, Loughton, Essex.
7. Dr. W. Eddison, 282 Balham High Road, London, S.W.17.
8. Dr. M. D. Eder, 2 Harley Place, London, N.W.1.
9. Rev. P. Gough, St. Mark's Vicarage, 5 Abbey Road, London, N.W.8.
10. Dr. Bernard Hart, 81 Wimpole Street, London, W.1.
11. Dr. S. Herbert, 2 St. Peter's Square, Manchester.
12. Dr. M. B. Herford, 19 Redlands Road, Reading.
13. Dr. W. J. Jago, 39 Lee Park, Blackheath, London, S.E.3.

14. Dr. M. P. K. Menon, 7 Church Street, Edmonton, London, N.9.
15. Prof. Percy Nunn, D.Sc., London Day Training College, Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.
16. Dr. G. W. Pailthorpe, 40 Parliament Hill Mansions, London, N.W.5.
17. Dr. Sylvia Payne, 57 Carlisle Road, Eastbourne.
18. Mrs. Porter, 34 De Vere Gardens, London, W.8.
19. Miss J. B. Saxby, 21 Y Groes, Rubina, Cardiff.
20. Dr. Hamblin Smith, H.M. Prison, Birmingham.
21. Dr. T. Waddelow Smith, City Asylum, Nottingham.
22. Dr. C. R. A. Thacker, Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.
23. Dr. Rees Thomas, Greyridges, Retford, Notts.
24. Mrs. N. S. Walker, 36 Rosary Gardens, London, S.W.7.
25. Mr. F. R. Winton, 39 Fellow's Road, London, N.W.3.
26. Dr. L. Zarchi, 95 Down Road, Clapton, London, E.5.

Honorary Members

1. Dr. Karl Abraham, Berlin.
2. Dr. Ferenczi, Budapest.
3. Dr. Otto Rank, Vienna.

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DUTCH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1923

October 6, 1923. Dr. F. P. Muller: Continuation of the analysis of an anxiety-neurosis. (Out of consideration for the patient no report is published.)

November 10, 1923. Dr. A. J. Westerman-Holstijn: (1) Short analysis of a male hysteric. Treatment by electricity, etc., had only made the patient's nervous disturbances worse. At the end of three months of analysis he was cured. (2) Some notes on the painter Vincent van Gogh. A story of the life-history of this famous painter, taken in connection with his works, seems to show that he suffered from schizophrenia. It is nevertheless very remarkable that for a long time he made efforts to keep in touch with his fellow-men, and when his last efforts failed, he committed suicide.

December 15, 1923.

a. Dr. J. H. W. van Ophuijsen: The practice of psycho-analysis. This paper was recently delivered in Paris at a meeting of the members of the Faculté de Médecine. Certain fundamental principles of psycho-analytic technique are illustrated by examples.

b. Dr. Adolf F. Meijer: Auto-suggestion. In connection with a

new chapter in the third edition of Ernest Jones's *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, the speaker discussed the question of what is to be regarded as auto-suggestion and what importance is to be ascribed to it.

Dr. Adolf F. Meijer,
Secretary.

List of Members

1. Professor Dr. K. H. Bouman, Jan Luykenstraat 24, Amsterdam (*Librarian*).
2. Dr. A. van der Chys, Van Breestraat 117, Amsterdam (*Treasurer*).
3. Dr. J. E. G. van Emden, Jan v. Nassaustraat 84, Haag (*President*).
4. Dr. A. Endtz, Anstalt Aud-Rosenburg, Loosduinen.
5. Dr. J. H. van der Hoop, P. C. Hoofstreet 5, Amsterdam.
6. Professor Dr. G. Jelgersma, Ternepark 2, Leiden.
7. Dr. J. Knappert, Hoogstreet 71, Wygeningen.
8. Dr. B. D. J. van de Linde, Boomberglaan 4, Hilversum.
9. Dr. Adolf F. Meijer, Koninginneweg 77, Haarlem (*Secretary*).
10. Dr. S. J. R. de Monchy, Schiedamsche singel 112, Rotterdam.
11. Dr. Fred. Muller, Julianastraat 8, Haarlem.
12. Dr. F. P. Muller, Rynsburgerweg 50 b, Leiden.
13. Dr. J. H. W. van Ophuysen, Prinsevinkenpark 5, Haag.
14. Dr. A. W. van Renterghem. Van Breestraat 1, Amsterdam.
15. Dr. J. M. Rombouts, Aegstgeest.
16. Dr. Aug. Stärcke, Den Dolder.
17. Dr. A. J. Westermann Holstijn, Van Breestraat 1, Amsterdam.
18. Dr. Simon Weyl, Ande Delft 68, Delft.

Associate Member

Dr. J. Varendonck, 42. Rue de la Pacification, Ledeberg-Gand (Belgium).

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HUNGARIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1923

October 20, 1923. Dr. G. Róheim: The water carriers in the moon. The legend of the water carriers in the moon has been explained as the reproduction of a dream occasioned by thirst. The various strata in those dreams which wake the sleeper were discussed and the *motif* of the work of the Danaids in the moon was traced to onanistic dreams. The maternal significance of the moon originates in the representation of repressed unconscious material by the ' organic-unconscious.'

November 3, 1923. Short communications.

a. Dr. M. J. Eisler: (1) Vaginismus. (2) Analysis of a childhood-dream. (3) A red nose—a conversion-symptom.

b. Dr. J. Hermann: (1) Transformations of a feeling of gratitude which turns out to be a resistance. (2) Illusions during the analytic hour.

November 17, 1923. Dr. J. Hollós: A case of hysterical destructive mania.

A young man of eighteen had attacks which took the form of outbursts of rage in which he destroyed the things around him. During treatment these attacks were reproduced and afforded insight not only into the patient's oral and anal fixations, but into a marked castration complex, of which one conditioning factor was his premature birth which was a constant source of grievance to him. He wished to destroy everything, including himself, in order to be re-born in a state of proper development. After nine months of treatment the attacks ceased.

December 1, 1923. Dr. S. Ferenczi: A chapter from my *Genital Theory.*

December 15, 1923. Short communications.

a. Dr. S. Pfeifer: (1) Manifold significance of the corpse in a necrophilic dream, (*a*) as an utterly annihilated love-object, (*b*) as a sadistic variant of the harlot-complex, (*c*) as a defence against the vagina dentata, (*d*) as a penis removed by castration, in relation with the father-complex, onanism and homosexuality. (2) Persistent infantile theories of sex.

b. Dr. J. Hollós: Illustrations of dream-symbolism.

Dr. Imre Hermann
(*Acting Sec.*).

List of Members

1. Dr. Michael Josef Eisler, Budapest, V., Nádor-utca 5.
2. Dr. Béla v. Felszeghy, Budapest, IV., Veres Pálné-utca 4.
3. Dr. Sándor Ferenczi, Budapest, VII., Nagydiofa-utca 3 (*President*).
4. Dr. Imre Hermann, Budapest, V., Mária Valéria-utca 10.
5. Dr. István Hollós, Budapest, V., Nagykorona-utca 16.
6. Aurél Kolnai, Wien, VI., Webgasse 11.
7. Dr. Lajos Lévy, Budapest, V., Szalay-u. 3.
8. Dr. Zsigmond Pfeifer, Budapest, VII., Rákóczi-utca 18.
9. Dr. Sándor Radó, Budapest, IX., Ferencz-körut 14; temporarily at: Berlin-Schöneberg, Am Park 20 (*Secretary*).
10. Dr. Géza Róheim, Budapest, VI., Hermina-utca 35 a.
11. Dr. Sándor Szabó, derzeit: Zürich, Voltastrasse 24.
12. Dr. Géza Szilágyi, Budapest, VII., Damjanich-utca 28 a.

Associate Member

Frau Dr. Mária Kircz-Takács, Budapest, I., Krisztina-körut 5.

Honorary Member

Dr. Ernest Jones, London.

*

INDIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1923

No meetings were held in this quarter. Dr. Das was the only new member elected in 1923.

List of Members

*1. Mr. M. N. Banerjee, M.Sc. (*Secretary*), 30 Tarak Chatterji Lane, Calcutta.
2. Major Owen Berkeley-Hill, M.A., M.D., I.M.S., European Mental Hospital, Kanke P.O. Ranchi, B.N.R.
3. Prof. Haridas Bhattacharya, M.A., P.R.S., The Chummery, Ramna P.O. Dacca.
*4. Mr. G. Bora, B.A., 7/2 Halliday Street, Calcutta.
*5. Dr. G. Bose, D.Sc., M.B. (*President*), 14 Parsibagan Lane, Calcutta.
6. Dr. P. C. Das, M.B., European Mental Hospital, Kanke P.O. Ranchi, B.N.R.
7. Capt. J. R. Dhar, I.M.S., 6 George Town, Allahabad.
*8. Dr. N. N. Sen Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., 11 Ghose Lane, Calcutta.
9. Prof. Rangin Chander Halder, M.A., B.N. College, Patna.
10. Mr. H. Maiti, M.A., 10/1 Halsibagan Road, Calcutta.
11. Major R. C. McWatters, I.M.S., Saharanpur.
12. Capt. N. C. Mitter, M.B., I.M.S., 46 Raja Dinendra Street, Calcutta.
13. Mr. Surit Ch. Mittra, M.A., 16 Bhabanath Sen Street, Calcutta.
14. Mr. Gopeswar Pal, M.Sc., 7/1 Parsibagan Lane, Calcutta.
15. Capt. S. K. Roy, M.B., I.M.S., 2 Amherst Street, Calcutta.
16. Dr. Sarasilal Sarkar, M.A., M.B., Civil Surgeon, Malda.

* Members of the Council for 1923.

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NEW YORK PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1923

October 30, 1923. Dr. M. A. Meyer: The mental reaction to a venereal infection. The rôle of the castration complex as the central theme in the mental reaction was emphasized, and illustrated nicely through a dream of the patient's.

Dr. Adolph Stern: On the counter-transference, giving a hint as to its sources and forms of its manifestations, its similarity to the transference-phenomena on the part of the patient being indicated.

November 27, 1923. Dr. I. S. Wechsler: The nervousness of the Jew. An enquiry into racial psychology. This paper is an attempt to apply some of the psycho-analytic principles to the study of the neurotic character and the prevalence of neuroses among Jews. The first part deals with the more general, superficial or immediate causes which are rooted in the unfavourable social situations to which the Jew has been exposed for centuries. The second part takes up the question of racial, or rather, group psychology and the cultural or religious causes. Here it is pointed out that the Jewish religion and ethical concepts put their emphasis on realism. Idealism, in its psychological sense, is less strongly emphasized, that is, less than in other religions. Further, the Jew's sense of reality, fostered by his culture, has been markedly developed by the adverse factors to which he has always been exposed. He could not, therefore, find that escape in spiritual 'idealism' nor shift his conflicts to the same extent as others whose religion is less realistic and whose notions of heaven and hell are more deeply rooted. His religion permits less of vicarious neurosis. The Jew's individualism and gregariousness are both so extremely developed that they are additional causes of conflict. So also his ideal ego and real ego are equally strongly developed. His refusal to give up his identity and ability to survive testify to their existence. Neurosis is also looked upon as a by-product of racial development. Just as the individual in his growth from the childhood state of phantasy to maturity is exposed to conflict and neurosis, so the race goes through similar stages. Racial neurosis is a step in phylogenesis, as individual neurosis is in psychic ontogenesis.

No meeting was held in December.

Adolph Stern.

List of Members

1. Dr. J. J. Asch, 780 Lexington Avenue, New York City.
2. Dr. Leonard Blumgart, 57 W. 58th Street, New York City.
3. Dr. A. A. Brill, 1 W. 70th Street, New York City.
4. Dr. F. J. Farnell, 219 Waterman Street, Providence R.I.
5. Dr. H. W. Frink, 142 E. 62nd Street, New York City.
6. Dr. Bernard Glueck, 9 W. 48th Street, New York City.
7. Dr. Josephine Jackson, 1971 Morton Avenue, Pasadena, California.
8. Dr. S. P. Jewett, 129 E. 30th Street, New York City.
9. Dr. A. Kardiner, 19 E. 64th Street, New York City.
10. Dr. Marion E. Kenworthy, 9 W. 48th Street, New York City.
11. Dr. P. R. Lehrmann, 120 Riverside Drive, New York City.
12. Dr. Hyman Levin, 33 Allen Street, Buffalo, N.Y.
13. Dr. A. M. Mamlet, 184 Ferry Street, Newark, N.Y.
14. Dr. M. A. Meyer, 17 E. 38th Street, New York City.
15. Dr. C. P. Oberndorf, 8 E. 54th Street, New York City.

16. Dr. Albert Polon, 911 Park Avenue, New York City.
17. Dr. Simon Rothenberg, 64 Hansom Place, Brooklyn, New York City.
18. Dr. Irving J. Sands, 202 New York Avenue, Brooklyn, New York City.
19. Dr. B. Silvermann, 745 City Hall Avenue, Montreal, Canada.
20. Dr. Joseph Smith, 848 Park Road, Brooklyn, New York City.
21. Dr. J. B. Solley, 968 Lexington Avenue, New York City.
22. Dr. B. Spaulding, 418 W. 20th Street, New York City.
23. Dr. Adolph Stern, 40 W. 48th Street, New York City.
24. Dr. D. D. Schoenfeld, 116 W. 59th Street, New York City.
25. Dr. J. S. Wechsler, 1291 Madison Avenue, New York City.
26. Dr. F. E. Williams, 370–7 Madison Avenue, New York City.

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RUSSIAN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

The Russian Psycho-Analytical Society was founded at Moscow in 1921, and since then has carried on its scientific work as an independent psycho-analytical society with various centres of research.

In the autumn of 1923 several new members were admitted:

Dr. S. Spielrein, formerly a member of the Swiss Psycho-Analytical Society (Geneva);

Dr. R. Averbuch, formerly a member of the Kazan Psycho-Analytical Society;

Al. R. Luria, formerly a member of the Kazan Psycho-Analytical Society, now Assistant at the Psychological Institute (University of Moscow);

Dr. B. Friedmann, formerly a member of the Kazan Psycho-Analytical Society;

Dr. W. Bjeloussoff, Assistant Physician at the Psychiatrical Clinic, Moscow.

In the autumn of 1923 the work of the Russian Psycho-Analytical Society took the following directions:

I. *Scientific Meetings of the Society* and its various sections dealing with medicine, education, sociology, and analysis as applied to art. (See below for Reports of Meetings.)

II. Work of the *State Psycho-Analytical Institute.* This institute was founded at Moscow in 1921 and existed until the autumn of 1923 as a children's home and laboratory on psycho-analytical lines. In the autumn of 1923 its work was extended in various directions and at the present time it carries on the following activities:

1. Scientific psycho-analytical lectures for physicians, educationists, psychologists and students. At present the following lectures are being held at the Institute:

a. Prof. J. Ermakoff: Principles of psycho-analysis (two hours a week);

b. Dr. M. Wulff: Introduction to psycho-analysis (two hours a week);

c. Dr. S. Spielrein: Psychology of subliminal thought (one hour a week);

d. Prof. J. Ermakoff: Psychotherapy (special lectures for students and physicians; two hours a week).

2. Seminars on certain fundamental problems of psycho-analysis (for beginners) as follows:

a. Medical psycho-analysis. Conducted by Dr. M. Wulff (25 members);

b. The analysis of children. Conducted by Dr. S. Spielrein (30 members);

c. The psychology of artistic creation. Conducted by Prof. Ermakoff. (At present studying the analysis of the writers Gogol and Gribojedow; 15 members.)

d. Hypnology. Conducted by Prof. J. Ermakoff. (In preparation);

e. Research into complexes. Conducted by Al. Luria. (In preparation);

f. The analysis of religion. Conducted by Dr. R. Averbuch. (In preparation)

3. The Psycho-Analytic Children's Home and Laboratory, called 'International Solidarity', has two and a half years' work behind it. Its aim is to plan a scheme of education on a scientific analytical basis. At the present time there are in the Laboratory twelve children from two to four years old; within the next few months a number of younger children are expected. The laboratory has collected many observations on the games and speech of children and the manifestations of their sexual life.[1]

4. Psycho-Analytical Out-Patient Department, founded in the autumn of 1923. Drs. Averbuch and Friedmann are working in this department as assistant physicians, under the direction of Prof. Ermakoff, Drs. Wulff and Spielrein.

A special Children's Out-Patient Department is conducted by Prof. Ermakoff and Dr. S. Spielrein.

III. The business of the *Society and Institute* is conducted by the Committee: Prof. J. Ermakoff (president), Prof. O. Schmidt (vice-president), Al. R. Luria (secretary), Drs. S. Spielrein and M. Wulff.

Prof. J. Ermakoff is also Director of the State Psycho-Analytical Institute.

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[1] See Vera Schmidt: *Psycho-analytische Erziehung in Sowjetrussland*. Bericht über das Moskauer Kinderheim Laboratorium; Internationaler Psycho-analytischer Verlag; 1924.

IV. The Society has published a series of books as a *Psychological and Psycho-Analytical Library,* under the editorship of Prof. J. Ermakoff.

The following works have appeared up to the present:

1. Sigm. Freud: *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis.* Parts 1 and 2. Translated into Russian by Dr. M. Wulff.
2. Sigm. Freud: *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis.* Part 3. Translated by Dr. M. Wulff.
3. *Psychological Theories in Psycho-Analysis.* Selected papers by Sigm. Freud. Translated by Dr. M. Wulff.
4. *The Psycho-Analytical Method and Technique.* Selected papers by Sigm. Freud. Translated by Dr. M. Wulff.
5. *The Psycho-Analytical Study of Character.* Selected papers by Sigm. Freud, Ernest Jones, J. Sadger and Hattingberg. Translated by Dr. W. Bjeloussoff.
6. Sigm. Freud: *Totem and Taboo.* Translated by Dr. M. Wulff.

In preparation:

7. *The Psychology of Sexuality.* Selected papers by Sigm. Freud. Translated by Dr. M. Wulff.
8. Green: *Analysis in School.* Translated by Frau Nachimoff.
9. *Psycho-Analysis of Children.* Selected papers by Sigm. Freud, C. G. Jung, S. Ferenczi and M. Klein. Translated by Dr. Bjeloussoff.
10. Prof. J. Ermakoff: *Studies of Pushkin.*
11. Prof. J. Ermakoff: *Studies of Gogol.*

Report of Meetings for the Fourth Quarter, 1923

October 18, 1923. Prof. O. Schmidt and Vera Schmidt gave an account of their journey abroad. The object of this journey was to come into closer contact with German and Austrian psycho-analytical circles and to give them a report of the Russian Psycho-Analytical Society. The foreign analysts showed great interest in the Children's Home and Laboratory at Moscow, and the State Psycho-Analytical Institute. Prof. Sigm. Freud, Dr. O. Rank, and Dr. K. Abraham gave many valuable hints with reference to the working of the Laboratory. In particular, the question of collective education and psycho-analysis (the fate of the Œdipus complex under conditions of collective education) was discussed.

November 8, 1923. Dr. M. W. Wulff: Psycho-Analysis and Childhood.

In its study of childhood, the path of psycho-analysis lies very near that of more recent biological researches. Thus the great importance of the various so-called erotogenic zones of the organism has been indicated and an interesting classification of the stages in the development of the

libido has been made. From this biological point of view psycho-analysis has illuminated and interpreted new aspects of childhood.

November 15, 1923 :

a. Dr. S. Spielrein : Aphasic thinking and infantile thinking. A number of similar symptoms are to be found in aphasic and infantile thinking. For instance, in the former type there are indications of condensation and of the latent existence of ideas, just as in the free imagination of children. Again, both types of thinking are closely related to the development of speech.

b. Dr. J. A. Vinogradoff : An account of the psycho-analytical movement at Kiev. There is a small psycho-analytical society at Kiev ; medical psycho-analysis has already roused great interest at Prof. Hackebusch's University Clinic. At the Clinical Institute a course of lectures on psycho-analysis will be given, beginning with the coming term.

November 22, 1923. Vera Schmidt : The principles of psycho-analytical pedagogy as practised in the Children's Home and Laboratory, ' International Solidarity ', attached to the International Psycho-Analytical Institute at Moscow. (This paper has already been published by the Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag.)

November 29, 1923. Prof. J. Ermakoff : The problem of self-expression in art.

Attempts at self-expression may already be observed in children ; in art they reach their highest development. The products of artistic creation are derived ultimately from the artist's mind and often are a mode of expressing various instincts (tactile, anal-erotic, etc.). One of the most interesting problems in the psychology of artistic creation is that of the symbolism in a picture as a means of expression for the artist, and that of the development of the picture from right to left as a fundamental principle of psychology. The speaker exhibited various artistic productions in illustration of his subject.

December 20, 1923. Short communications :

a. Dr. M. W. Wulff : (1) Psycho-analysis of a symptomatic action. (2) The psychological significance of alcohol.

b. Dr. S. Spielrein : Notes from the analysis of a child.

Al. Luria,
Secretary.

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SWISS PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1923

October 27, 1923. A. Kielholz : Some remarks on the psycho-analytical conception of alcoholism.

The subject of dipsomania has received but meagre treatment in pre-war psycho-analytical literature. According to Freud, a constitutional intensification of the erotogenic significance of the oral zone produces a disposition to alcoholism. Reference was also made to Abraham's and Ferenczi's writings.

Stress is to be laid on the connection between dipsomania and the homosexual instinct-components in men. The insane jealousy so common in alcoholics is probably based on a fixation on these components and the same is true of the alcoholic's heightened suggestibility. His excessive vanity and other traits testify to a regression to infantile narcissism. The frequent combination of physical defect with incurable dipsomania indicates a permanent injury to the subject's narcissism.

In the children of drunkards the Œdipus complex is often intensified by the brutalities of their dipsomaniac fathers, giving rise to an unconscious feeling of guilt and to depression of spirits; and these in their turn impel the sufferers to drown their troubles in alcohol and so may have no less deleterious an effect than direct hereditary taint.

The hallucinations of alcoholic delirium are frequently found to be deeply rooted in the youthful experiences and affective attitudes of the personality. We may follow Hanns Sachs in placing persons suffering from abnormal cravings, and particularly psychopathic alcoholics, midway between obsessional neurotics and perverts.

The only correct treatment of alcoholics, namely, by gradual education to total abstinence, is not unlike the newer psycho-analytical methods, which require patients to renounce pleasurable habits whilst undergoing analysis.

(Author's abstract.)

November 9, 1923. H. Zulliger: Clinical contributions to the subject of sexuality in children.

A father and mother kept a diary recording observations made on the sexuality of their two little girls, from the age of two to three and three to five and a half respectively, and on the boy, from the age of two to seven. The notes of the two parents, which are mutually supplementary, relate to the pregenital and genital organizations, the polymorphous-perverse nature of infantile sexuality, the primal transference and fixation, the ambivalency of the pairs of instincts, etc. Already in the two-year-old child 'penis-envy' and the castration complex occupied a prominent place among her experiences, whilst the five-year-old constructed on the basis of the castration complex a phobia which she then overcame by identifying herself with the 'castration animal'. The rudiments of transformation of instincts, repressions, sublimation, regression and amnesia all made their appearance. The whole body of material afforded confirmation of Freud's sexual theory.

(Author's abstract.)

November 24, 1923. E. Oberholzer: The value for psycho-analysis of 'form-interpretation' tests (ink-blots). (Subsequent report 1.)

The results of the experiments with a patient suffering from obsessional neurosis, described in Bleuler's *Festschrift*, were tested fourteen months after the analysis. It was found that not one of the factors of the experiments or the correlations of these factors had remained unchanged. On the contrary, they all showed evidence of a more or less profound change in the direction of the cure which had been begun and continued, so that the results of the test did not differ at the present time from the normal average of persons with gifts and intelligence above the average.

(Author's abstract.)

December 7, 1923. O. Pfister: The different forms taken by neurotic compulsion.

For the content of the classic obsessional neurosis the mask or symbol is characteristic; for its function the sense of compulsion. Nevertheless there are certain neurotics in whom one or both of these features may be absent. Functions in no way different as to their content from those of normal people and showing no trace in analysis of a disharmony between their latent and manifest aims may receive a libidinal cathexis which clashes with the subject's volition in other respects and induces in him the most powerful feelings of compulsion. Conversely, under other conditions the consciousness of compulsion may disappear, without any relaxation in the conditioning factors of repression and instinct-fixation; moreover, the content of such a dominating neurosis (for all its simulation of liberty) may exactly coincide with that of the obsessional neurosis, so far as the symbols are concerned. Since the content imposed upon the patient's mind is not felt by him to be something forced upon, and contrary to, his ego, compulsions of this sort may be termed *insessions*, to distinguish them from the *obsessions* which are associated with a consciousness of compulsion.

(Author's abstract.)

December 22, 1923. E. Blum: An unsuccessful analysis.

Using as an illustration the analysis of a case of writer's cramp undertaken by him before he himself had been analysed, the speaker pointed out the causes of errors made by the analyst who has not been himself submitted to analysis. All that has to be kept under repression in the analyst's unconscious eludes discovery in the patient. By his handling of the situation the analyst in this case was able to avoid touching on his own complexes in the analysis, but this had the effect of nullifying what the patient had himself laboriously brought to light. The failure to recognize the counter-transference added to the mistakes already mentioned and made it impossible correctly to appreciate transference and resistance in the patient. Nothing but actual experience in one's own analysis

can show how transference and resistance are to be made use of as the most important phenomena occurring in analysis.

(Author's abstract.)

The following report, dated January 1, 1924, and addressed to the President of the Swiss Psycho-Analytical Society, gives an account of the activities of those members living in Berne and its neighbourhood.

On January 24, 1924, it will be just a year since the members of the Swiss Psycho-Analytical Society in Berne and its neighbourhood first came together to draw up a plan of regular meetings. At the outset there were the following members: Herren Zulliger and Weber, Fraulein Dr. Etter, Dr. med. E. Blum; later Herr Dr. med. Max Müller of Münsingen and Frau Dr. med. Blum-Sapas joined the group. Frau Dr. med. Schultz-Bascho was invited to attend some of the meetings as a guest. Meetings were held every week with few exceptions. The principal object was to let those who were unable to be present at the meetings of the Society have a full account of the proceedings. With this in view Dr. Blum gave a résumé at Berne of the following papers which had been delivered at Zürich: 'Thought-processes in a child of two and a half' by Frau Dr. med. Spielrein; 'A case of moral deficiency in the light of psycho-analysis' by Herr Furrer; 'Neglect and neurosis' by Herr Grüninger; and 'The value for psycho-analysis of the "form-interpretation" test (subsequent report 1)' by Dr. Oberholzer. In addition Herr Zulliger repeated to the Berne group a paper entitled 'Contributions to the subject of sexuality in children' and Dr. Blum one entitled 'An unsuccessful analysis'. In order that the Berne members might as far as possible acquaint themselves with the most important analytical conclusions Dr. Blum reviewed the following subjects: 'Origin and significance of feelings of guilt' (two evenings); 'Metapsychological considerations in Freud's *Traumdeutung* with reference to his more recent writings'; '*Jenseits des Lustprinzips* and *Das Ich und das Es* by Sigmund Freud'; 'The mechanism of hysterical symptom-formation (conversion)'; and 'The problem of the hysterical character'. In addition to the repetition of the Zürich papers certain clinical contributions were made by Herr Zulliger, as follows: 'The sexuality of the school child; observations and illustrations taken from free compositions' (two evenings); and 'A fanatic for truth'; and by Dr. Blum, 'From the analysis of a case of erythrophobia' and 'From the analysis of an obsessional neurotic'. At different meetings Dr. Blum gave a critical account of a number of books and papers, amongst them Schaxel's *Theorienbildung in der Biologie* and Kretschmer's *Über Hysterie*. Frau Dr. Schultz reviewed Bühler's *Die Psychologie der weiblichen Pubertät*. On several successive evenings there was a discussion of Rorschach's method of 'form-interpretation' (ink-blots) in relation to psycho-analysis. In this connection special

mention is due to Herr Weber's review of Rorschach's latest work, *Zur Auswertung des Formdeutversuches für die Psychoanalyse* and to a lecture by Dr. Müller on 'Postencephalitic affective disturbances in the light of "form-interpretation" tests'. Finally, a number of evenings were devoted to short communications and free discussion. In all, thirty meetings were held in 1923.

E. Blum.

List of Members

1. Dr. med. Fernando Allende, Physikstrasse 6, Zürich.
2. Dr. med. Hans Behn-Eschenburg, Nervenarzt, Küsnacht-Zürich.
3. Dr. med. Ludwig Binswanger, Sanatorium Belle-Vue, Kreuzlingen, Thurgau.
4. Dr. med. Elsa Blum-Sapas, Optingenstrasse 8, Bern.
5. Dr. med. Ernst Blum, Nervenarzt, Optingenstrasse 8, Bern.
6. Professor Dr. phil. Pierre Bovet, Institut J. J. Rousseau, Taconnerie 5, Genève.
7. Privatdozent Dr. med. Rudolf Brun, Nervenarzt, Theaterstrasse 14, Zürich.
8. Dr. med. Hans Christoffel, Nervenarzt, Albanvorstadt 42, Basel.
9. Dr. jur. Paul Dubi, Mittlere Strasse 127, Basel.
10. Dr. med. Hedwig Etter, Assistenzarzt, Kant. Irrenanstalt Münsingen, Bern.
11. Direktor Dr. med. Dorian Feigenbaum, Lunatic Asylum 'Esrath Nashim', Jerusalem.
12. Albert Furrer, Pädagog Leiter der Kinderbeobachtungsstation Stephansburg-Burghölzli, Weineggstrasse 76, Zürich.
13. Dr. med. Emma Fürst, Nervenarzt, Apollostrasse 21, Zürich.
14. Dr. med. Max Geiser, Dufourstrasse 39, Basel.
15. Guillaume de Gontaut-Biron, 19 Aleja Ujasdowska, Warschau.
16. Dr. phil. Ulrich Grüninger, Städtisches Knabenheim, Selnaustrasse Nr. 9, Zürich.
17. Walter Hofmann, Primarlehrer, Russenweg 9, Zürich.
18. Direktor Dr. med. Artur Kielholz, Kantonale Irrenanstalt Königsfelden, Aargau.
19. Med. prakt. Adolf Löpfe, 1, Ass.-Arzt, Kant. Irrenanstalt Burghölzli, Zürich.
20. Stud. med. Emil Lüthy, Kunstmaler, Birsigstrasse 76, Basel.
21. Dr. med. Hans Meier-Müller, Nervenarzt, Füsslistrasse 4, Zürich.
22. Priv.-Doz. Dr. med. M. Minkowski, Oberassistent am Hirnanatomischen Institut, Physikstrasse 6, Zürich.
23. Priv.-Doz. Dr. phil. Ferdinand Morel, 10 Avenue de Champel, Genève.
24. Dr. med. Sophie Morgenstern, 1, Assistenzarzt, Kantonale Irrenanstalt Münsterlingen, Thurgau.

25. Dr. med. Max Müller, 1, Assistenzarzt, Kantonale Irrenanstalt Münsingen, Bern.
26. Dr. med. Mira Oberholzer-Gincburg, Nervenarzt, Utoquai 39, Zürich.
27. Dr. med. Emil Oberholzer, Nervenarzt, Utoquai 39, Zürich.
28. Dr. med. Charles Odier, Nervenarzt, 24 Boulevard des Philosophes, Genève.
29. Albert Peter, Primarlehrer, Eidmattstrasse 29, Zürich.
30. Hans Pfenninger, Pfarrer, Neftenbach, Zürich.
31. Dr. phil. Oskar Pfister, Pfarrer, Schienhutgasse 6, Zürich.
32. Priv.-Doz. Dr. phil. Jean Piaget, Inst. J.J. Rousseau, Taconnerie 5, Genève.
33. Dr. med Philipp Sarasin, Nervenarzt, St. Jakobstrasse 14, Basel.
34. Dr. med. Raymond de Saussure, Tertasse 2, Genève.
35. Dr. med. Hans Jakob Schmid, Leysin, Waadt.
36. Professor Dr. phil. Ernst Schneider Wisby-Prospekt 14, Riga.
37. Direktor Hermann Tobler, Landerziehungsheim Hof-Oberkirch, Kaltbrunn, St. Gallen.
38. Stud. med. Arnold Weber, Belpstrasse 11, Bern.
39. Privatdozent Dr. med. Gustav Adolf Wehrli, Leonhardstrasse 1, Zürich.
40. Hans Zulliger, Oberlehrer, Ittigen bei Bern.

Council

R. Brun; E. Oberholzer, *President*; O. Pfister, *Vice-President*; Ph. Sarasin; R. de Saussure.

Advisory Committee

E. Blum, R. Brun, A. Kielholz, E. Oberholzer, O. Pfister.

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VIENNA PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Fourth Quarter, 1923

October 17, 1923. General Meeting.

October 31, 1923. Short communications.

a. Dr. Reich: Introspection in a case of schizophrenia.

b. Dr. Bernfeld: Magitot's membrane.

c. Dr. Reik: The unconscious sense of guilt.

November 14, 1923. Short communications.

a. Dr. Varendonck (guest of the Society): Silberer's threshold-symbolism.

b. Dr. Friedjung: The Œdipus complex in the fever-delirium of a nine-year-old girl.

c. Dr. Hitschmann: Impotence.

November 28, 1923. Dr. Reich: Genitality.

December 12, 1923. Dr. Fokschaner: Poetical composition during analysis.

List of Members, December 31, 1923

1. August Aichhorn, Wien, V., Schönbrunnerstrasse 112.
2. Lou Andreas-Salomé, Göttingen, Herzberger Landstrasse 101.
3. Dr. Siegfried Bernfeld, Wien, XIII., Suppégasse 10.
4. Dozent Dr. Felix Deutsch, Wien, I., Wollzeile 33.
5. Dr. Helene Deutsch, Wien, I., Wollzeile 33.
6. Dr. Paul Federn, Wien, I., Riemerg. 1.
7. Dr. Otto Fenichel, zurzeit Berlin-Halensee, Johann-Georg-Strasse.
8. Dr. Walter Fokschaner, Wien, VI., Kasernengasse 2.
9. Anna Freud, Wien, IX., Berggasse 19.
10. Prof. Dr. Sigm. Freud, Wien, IX., Berggasse 19.
11. Dozent Dr. Josef Friedjung, Wien, I., Ebendorferstrasse 6.
12. Dr. H. v. Hattingberg, München, Ainmillergasse 62.
13. Eric Hiller, Wien, VII., Andreasgasse 3.
14. Dr. Eduard Hitschmann, Wien, IX., Währingerstrasse 24.
15. Dr. Wilhelm Hoffer, Wien, IX., Liechtensteinstrasse 65a.
16. Prof. Dr. Guido Holzknecht, Wien, I., Liebiggasse 4.
17. Dr. Hermine Hug-Hellmuth, Wien, IX., Lustkandlgasse 10.
18. Dr. Ludwig Jekels, Wien, IX., Bergg. 29.
19. Dr. Robert Hans Jockl, Wien, III., Sechskrügelgasse 2.
20. Dr. Michael Kaplan, Wien, XVIII., Cottagegasse 48.
21. Dr. Salomea Kempner, Berlin W. 30, Barbarossastrasse 32, II.
22. Prof. Dr. Levi-Bianchini, Nocera Inferiore (Salerno).
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